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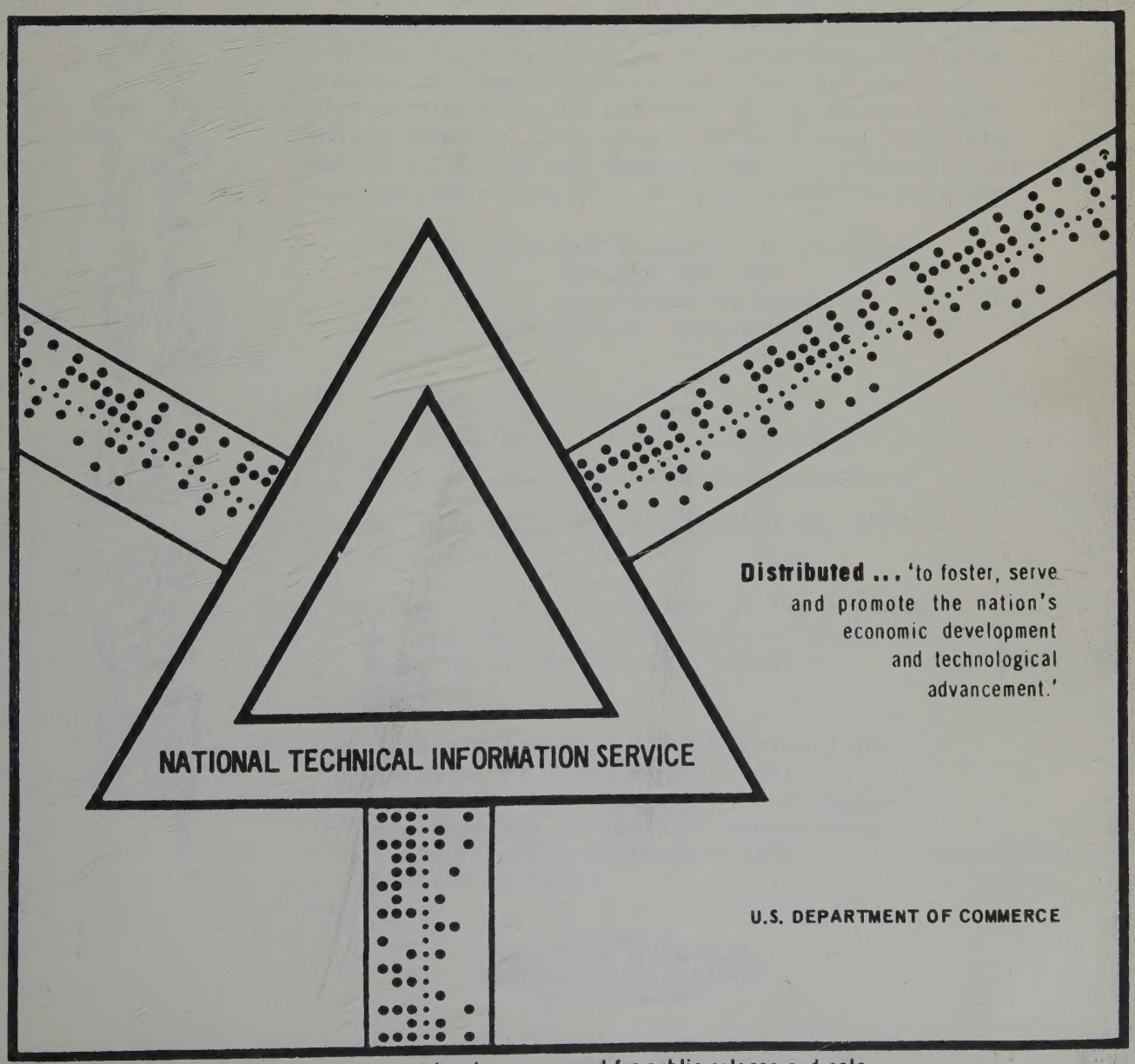
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Leading Cadres Should Take the Lead in Studying Well

- Short Commentary -

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 11, October 14, 1970)

A new upsurge has emerged in the nationwide mass movement for the living study and application of Mao Tsetung thought, thanks to the impetus given by the call of the Communique of the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

This situation requires that the leading cadres at all levels step up their study. "Leaders must march ahead of the movement," and they must give lead in studying well.

The strengthening of cadres' theoretical study is basic to the ideological building of our Party, an important measure for consolidating and developing the fruits of victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution. The great leader Chairman Mao pointed out as early as the Sixth Plenary Session of the Sixth Party Central Committee: "Generally speaking, all Communist Party members who can do so should study the theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, study our national history and study current movements and trends; moreover, they should help to educate members with less schooling. The cadres in particular should study these subjects carefully, while members of the Central Committee and senior cadres should give them even more attention." Chairman Mao teaches: "Ours is the task of leading a great nation of several hundred million in a great and unprecedented struggle. For us, therefore, the spreading and deepening of the study of Marxism-Leninism present a big problem demanding an early solution which is possible only through concentrated effort."

Our cadres, the senior cadres in particular, should gain a deep understanding of these consistent teachings from Chairman Mao over the years. We must pay greater attention to our study and truly turn our respective regions, departments and units into a great school of Mao Tsetung thought, so that more and more comrades may be able to know and change the world in accordance with the proletarian world outlook.

"To be a good 'squad leader,' the secretary should study hard and investigate thoroughly." The chief leading member should make study his important task, work out necessary measures, study conscientiously and well and lead his "squad" in doing so. In the three-in-one leading groups, representatives of the armed forces, the cadres, and the masses, old, middle-aged or young, should all unremittingly study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought and exert themselves to remold their own world outlook with a high sense of responsibility for the proletarian revolutionary cause.

What are we to do if we are busy? This indeed involves properly arranging one's time. But this is not of first importance. Most important is whether we have the determination to study, whether we have a real wish to carry on the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat to the end or content ourselves with making revolution halfway. A person who is

really resolved to become a fighter continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, who recognizes the great historic tasks that the proletariat and its vanguard are undertaking, who recognizes the protracted, complex and tortuous nature of class struggle, who is determined to carry the sccialist revolution in the political and ideological, cultural and educational, and economic fields and in the various spheres of the superstructure through to the end--such a person, there is no doubt, will of his own accord put the living study and application of Mao Tsetung thought above all work and put Mao Tsetung thought in command of everything, no matter how busy he is. Those comrades who indulge in complaining about being busy and thus think that they can slacken their efforts in study, have indeed failed to realize how arduous are the tasks that confront us.

We should make further efforts to translate the call of the Second Plenary Session of the Party's Ninth Central Committee into action and conscientiously study Chairman Mao's philosophic works. We should strive to learn to apply the viewpoint and method of dialectical materialism and historical materialism in observing and solving problems and criticizing and overcoming the viewpoint and method of idealism and metaphysics so as to push the varied work in the three great revolutionary movements (class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment--trans.) and carry out this teaching of our great leader Chairman Mao's: "It is therefore necessary to educate our comrades in the dialectical materialist theory of knowledge, so that they can orientate their thinking correctly, become good at investigation and study and at summing up experience, overcome difficulties, commit fewer mistakes, do their work better, and struggle hard so as to build China into a great and powerful socialist country and help the broad masses of the oppressed and exploited throughout the world in fulfillment of our great internationalist duty."

In the course of study we should put stress on continuing to heighten our consciousness of the struggle between the two lines and be more conscientious in carrying out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and policies. Chairman Mao teaches: "Historical experience merits attention. A line or a viewpoint must be explained constantly and repeatedly. It won't do to explain them only to a few people; they must be made known to the broad revolutionary masses." All our achievements and victories are the outcome of carrying out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. People's social practice cannot but be bound up with one political line or another. If they are not carrying out the correct line, they are carrying out an erroneous line; if they are not carrying out a given line consciously, they are doing so blindly. Which line people carry out is determined by their world outlook. Only by studying Mao Tsetung thought well and guiding one's own practice by the proletarian world outlook can one act less blindly and be more conscientious in carrying out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, principles and policies.

Study should be closely linked with practice in the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment and we should strengthen our efforts to transform our subjective world in the course of transforming the objective world. We should use Mao Tsetung thought as a weapon to constantly fight self and criticize revisionism and revolutionize our thinking, so as to bring our ideas into correspondence with the laws of the objective external world and always keep

to a firm and correct political orientation in advancing along the road of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. We should use Mao Tsetung thought as our weapon in continuing revolutionary mass criticism to eliminate the remaining pernicious influence of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line pushed by the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i, criticize various erroneous trends and ideas that run counter to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and sweep away the dust of subjectivism, bureaucracy and sectarianism. We should constantly raise our proletarian revolutionary spirit, scientific approach and sense of organization and discipline, so as to attain unity of thinking, policy, plan, command and action on the basis of the principles of Mao Tsetung thought, and "unite to win still greater victories!"

It is necessary in our study to carry forward the fine style of study of integrating theory with practice that Chairman Mao has always advocated. We must oppose two trends at the same time: Any divorcement of theory from practice and any reluctance to study some books conscientiously. The leading cadres at all levels must spend a certain amount of time on serious study of books, go among the masses and into reality, and apply "the theory and method of Marxism-Leninism to the systematic and thorough investigation and study of the environment." They should be good at discovering the advanced experience gained by the masses in the living study and application of Mao Tsetung thought, conscientiously sum up their own positive and negative experience in ideological revolutionization and work and correctly solve new problems that arise in struggle-criticism-transformation. They must study in a down-to-earth and effective way, study less but in a concentrated way step by step, have specific problems in mind and apply whatever they learn.

Our great leader Chairman Mao issued this call more than thirty years ago: "Following on this plenary session of the Central Committee, I hope to see an all-Party emulation in study which will show who has really learned something, and who has learned more and learned better." All the study movements in our Party's history under the direct leadership of Chairman Mao have laid the ideological foundation for still greater victories in our revolutionary cause. We must continue to respond to this call of Chairman Mao's, and strive to raise our level and consciousness of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought. We have won great victories. But the tasks ahead are even more arduous. The struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines will continue for a long time. Leading cadres at all levels should take the lead in studying and applying Mao Tsetung thought well as this will promote deepening the mass movement for the living study and application of Mao Tsetung thought, help carry out the tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation still better in the great proletarian cultural revolution in accordance with Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and bring constant new victories in the new high tide of the socialist revolution and socialist construction.

* * *

Strengthen the Proletarian Party Spirit

by

Hung Lei (紅 雷)

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 11, Oct. 14, 1970)

The great proletarian cultural revolution personally started and led by our great leader Chairman Mao is the broadest and deepest Party rectification movement ever recorded in our Party's history. In this vigorous revolutionary mass movement and in the violent class struggle, the broad masses of Party members--severely tested and tempered and also examined by the revolutionary masses inside and outside the Party--have raised their consciousness of the class struggle, the struggle between the two lines and the need for continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and have strengthened their proletarian Party spirit. In the new upsurge of the socialist revolution and socialist construction, they have shown themselves to be vigorous and highly militant, and further developed their exemplary role as the vanguards of Party members.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "The Party organization should be composed of the advanced elements of the proletariat; it should be a vigorous vanguard organization capable of leading the proletariat and the revolutionary masses in the fight against the class enemy." In line with this requirement, every Party member must further strengthen his proletarian Party spirit.

Strengthening the proletarian Party spirit is an extremely vital question. The proletarian revolution which we communists are carrying out is different from the revolution of any other class in history. The Constitution of the Communist Party of China adopted at the 9th Party Congress points out: "The basic program of the Communist Party of China is the complete overthrow of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in place of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the triumph of socialism over capitalism. The ultimate aim of the Party is the realization of communism." To dedicate oneself to such a great cause and fight for it through to the end, one must possess a strong proletarian Party spirit, be resolute, fear no sacrifice, and surmount all difficulties to win the victory.

The New Constitution also points out: "Socialist society covers a fairly long historical period. Throughout this historical period, there exist classes, class contradictions, class struggle, the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, the danger of capitalist restoration, and the threat of subversion and aggression by imperialism and modern revisionism."

The class struggle in society will surely be reflected within our Party and in the minds of Party members. This requires us to arm ourselves with Chairman Mao's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and continue to raise our consciousness of the class struggle and the struggle between the two lines. The revolution to be continued under

the dictatorship of the proletariat is very broad and deep; it goes deep into the various spheres of politics, economics, and culture, and it touches people's soul. The struggle between the proletarian world outlook and the bourgeois world outlook is extremely violent. The bourgeoisie is always trying to corrupt, through decadent bourgeois ideas, certain comrades wavering in their will among the revolutionary ranks. If we do not use the proletarian Party spirit to overcome the filthy things of the exploiting classes in our heads, then in struggle we shall not be able to discern and criticize in time the various erroneous tendencies and thoughts which are contrary to the Mao Tsetung thought, nor shall we be able to firmly implement Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and policies or hold the initiative in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Some comrades pay lip service to that it is important to strengthen the proletarian Party spirit, but they believe themselves to have "nearly reached the mark." Such thinking is incompatible with facts, and is actually a negation of the necessity and the protracted nature of self-remolding.

In 1937, Chairman Mao in his article "Win the Masses in Their Millions for the Anti-Japanese National United Front" pointed out: "Party cadres should be versed in Marxism-Leninism, politically far-sighted, competent in work, full of the spirit of self-sacrifice, capable of tackling problems on their own, steadfast in the midst of difficulties and loyal and devoted in serving the nation, the class and the Party. It is on these cadres and leaders that the Party relies for its links with the membership and the masses, and it is by relying on their firm leadership of the masses that the Party can succeed in defeating the enemy. Such cadres and leaders must be free from selfishness, from individualistic heroism, ostentation, sloth, passivity, and sectarian arrogance, and they must be selfless national and class heroes."

Here Chairman Mao pointed out concretely the character and working style as well as the proletarian Party spirit that Party members and cadres must possess. In accordance with this teaching of Chairman Mao's, every Party member must in the practice of the revolutionary struggle train himself into a proletarian vanguard fighter with such a strong Party spirit. Party members must be infinitely loyal to Chairman Mao and work resolutely according to Mao Tsetung thought; they must fully trust and rely on the masses and wholeheartedly serve the proletariat and the broad masses of the revolutionary people; they must continue to raise their consciousness of the class struggle, the struggle between the two lines and unite with and lead the broad revolutionary masses in the fight against the class enemy; they must correctly treat themselves and be brave in self-criticism; they must promote the thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit of fearing neither hardship nor death and give their all to the realization of communism. In other words, they must make strict demands on themselves according to the five requirements advanced by Chairman Mao for successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause and seriously fulfill the five "essential" conditions as laid down in the new Party Constitution. It is by no means an easy task to reach such a high

standard of proletarian Party spirit, and as far as the broad masses of Party members and cadres are concerned, no one can say that he has "nearly reached the mark." Instead, all should double and redouble their efforts.

Some old Party members feel that since they have joined the Party for so many years and been tempered in the great proletarian cultural revolution and educated on Party rectification, they have raised their consciousness and strengthened their Party spirit and therefore may have a breathing spell insofar as ideological transformation is concerned. Some new Party members, on the other hand, think that since they have grown up in the midst of the great proletarian cultural revolution and being new people with new ideas, they do not seem to have any task of transforming their thinking or strengthening their Party spirit.

These ideas are all wrong. Although our old Party members were tested in the revolutionary struggle and have again been tempered in the great proletarian cultural revolution, yet the revolution is continuing to deepen and requires us to be put to new tests and get tempered. Likewise, new comrades who joined the Party during the great proletarian cultural revolution have merely taken the first step in the "ten-thousand li march." We should take the great proletarian cultural revolution as a new starting point for ourselves to continue the revolution, and not as a terminal.

For the overwhelming majority of comrades, their tempering in the several years of the great proletarian cultural revolution has laid a good ideological foundation for continuing the revolution. However, it does not mean that all non-proletarian ideas have been eliminated from our heads. We must continue to develop in depth the mass revolutionary criticism and eradicate the lingering pernicious influence of the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line. We must act firmly according to Chairman Mao's teachings, and strive to rectify the non-proletarian ideas in our heads. For instance, we must insist on proceeding from the interests of the people in doing everything, maintain close ties with the masses, and oppose those who divorce themselves from the masses, proceed from the interests of the individuals or small groups and who agitate for bourgeois factionalism or independence. We must persist in starting from realities, work strictly according to the Party's line and policies, and oppose those affected by subjectivism who do not study the situation with an open mind, who are self-righteous, go their own way and "take things for granted." We must persistently bear in mind the responsibility of the proletarian vanguards, strive to unite with and lead the broad revolutionary masses in the fight against the class enemy, be brave in tackling the difficulties and doing tough jobs, and oppose those who are afraid of taking responsibility or risks and adhere to the "good fellow doctrine" of having no conflict with the world. We must persevere in the style of working hard and living plainly; we must be humble and prudent, guard against conceit and rashness, and oppose undesirable tendencies such as loving leisure and taking credit not due to us. In short, we must use the proletarian world outlook to

consciously overcome all non-proletarian ways of thinking and rectify all expressions of impure Party spirit. It is only then that we shall be able to keep marching on the road of continuing the revolution and not to stumble in future struggles.

Some Party members with good family background have the idea that they were "born Red." Consequently they lack sufficient consciousness in strengthening their Party spirit. This, too, is wrong. On the road of ideological revolutionization, there are only those who become Red through conscious efforts, and none who is "born Red." Party members of worker, poor and lower-middle peasant origin can firmly resist and eradicate the influence of bourgeois ideas, further establish the communist world outlook, and possess the strong proletarian Party spirit only if they consciously study and apply Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought in a living manner and continue to transform themselves.

Vice Chairman Lin told us: "The Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung have time and again pointed out that the basic question of strengthening the Party spirit is the substitution of the dialectical-materialist world outlook of the proletariat for the idealist world outlook of the bourgeoisie in people's minds." "Without transformation of one's world outlook, one cannot properly strengthen one's Party spirit." Every Party member must firmly respond to the great call of the Second Plenary Session of the 9th Central Committee of the Party, step up his study, closely relate his work with the practice of the three major revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment; he must creatively study and apply Mao Tsetung thought and consciously transform his world outlook. He must seriously study Chairman Mao's philosophical writings, strive to master dialectical materialism and historical materialism, wipe out the influence of bourgeois idealism and metaphysics, and continue to promote his ideological revolutionization.

"The complete change in world outlook takes a very long period of time." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People") The tempering in Party spirit of Party members is a long-term task; it cannot be accomplished overnight or through a single revolutionary movement. It is essential for one, following the deep development of the revolution, to constantly use the lofty standard of proletarian vanguard fighters to make exacting demands on oneself, so that one may carry on the revolution, the study and transformation till old age and unceasingly heighten one's communist consciousness.

On the road of transforming world outlook, there are only "refueling stations" and no "recreation centers." When we stress that the transformation of world outlook by Party members is a long-term task, we do not mean to say, as some comrades have suggested, that one may "do it slowly." Quite the contrary. As long as we live and as long as we carry out the revolution, we must remember every hour and every minute that we are proletarian vanguard fighters. In the revolutionary spirit of "seizing the day

and seizing the hour," we must consciously continue to wrestle with the non-proletarian ideas inside and outside the Party as well as in our own heads. The idea that one may "do it slowly" and may "halt one's march for a rest" because ideological transformation is a long-term affair is fallacious. A boat sailing against the current will go backward if it does not go forward. If you "do it slowly," you will dismantle your defense works and surrender your guns in face of the attack of bourgeois ideas. The day when you "halt your march for a rest" will be the hour when bourgeois ideology will get into your head. If we do not overcome this notion, we may "slowly" go farther and farther from the Party's demands, and "slowly" become the captives of bourgeois ideology. Can we then talk of strengthening our proletarian Party spirit?

Many facts show that in the course of self-transformation a Party member can reach the summit of ideological revolutionization only if he bravely marches onward without halting for a rest. We have the great Mao Tsetung thought as a guide for our action, and provided that we have a correct attitude, have a strong desire and firm determination to transform ourselves, and step up our study in the midst of practical struggle, then, even those comrades who have more shortcomings can gradually strengthen their proletarian Party spirit and contribute to the revolutionary cause.

The invincible Mao Tsetung thought is a mighty weapon with which to transform our world outlook. The acute mass struggle in the three major revolutionary movements is the furnace in which to strengthen our Party spirit. Party organizations at all levels must act according to Chairman Mao's teaching "holding a firm grip of the ideological education is the central link for uniting the whole Party in carrying out the great political struggle." They must put the ideological building of the Party in the first place and step up their education of Party members on strengthening the Party spirit. Every Party member must be determined to transform his world outlook thoroughly, continue to strengthen his proletarian Party spirit, and be a Party member with boundless loyalty to Chairman Mao.

* * *

March Forward in the Course of Overcoming Subjectivism

by

Huang Tsu-shih (黄祖示)
a certain unit of the Canton armed forces of the PLA

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 11, October 14, 1970)

Resume: This article specifically sums up the writer's experience in applying Chairman Mao's philosophic thinking to transform his world outlook in practical work, stresses the importance of consciously using dialectical materialism to overcome subjectivism and raises three questions: It is imperative to base one's subjective idea and wish on respect for the objective reality; it is imperative to base one's idea and approach on concentrating the mass wisdom; it is imperative to correct mistakes and continue to advance.

Great leader Chairman Mao teaches us that we must combat subjectivism. Analyzing the harm of subjectivism Chairman Mao points out: "This subjectivist method which is contrary to science and Marxism-Leninism is a formidable enemy of the Communist Party, the working class, the people and the nation; it is a manifestation of impurity in Party spirit. A formidable enemy stands before us, and we must overthrow him. Only when subjectivism is overthrown can the truth of Marxism-Leninism prevail, can Party spirit be strengthened, can the revolution be victorious." ("Reform Our Study") Further, Chairman Mao points out: "To oppose subjectivism we must publicize materialism and dialectics." ("Rectify the Party's Style of Work") In accordance with Chairman Mao's great teaching, I studied and applied Chairman Mao's brilliant philosophic thinking over and over again in my practical work, persevered in opposing subjectivism which does not respect the objective reality, subjectivism which does not put faith in the masses, and subjectivism which does not admit mistakes, and constantly used Mao Tsetung thought to transform my world outlook.

Basing My Subjective Idea and Wish on Respect for the Objective Reality

In the first half last year I was transferred to the regiment as chief of the political section. To my mind, this posting was an indication that the Party had faith in me and wanted to give me training. I made up my mind to redouble my efforts to study and apply Mao Tsetung thought in a living way, to make a good job of my ideological revolutionization and to take up the burden well. However, at the start, I took some devious path and failed to make a good job of some work I should have and could have done well. What was the reason for this? In the process of dealing with one thing I received some enlightenment and education.

The machine gun company of the 1st battalion is an advanced unit and a four-good pace-setter with distinction in living study and application of Mao Tsetung thought in our military unit. For a time, however, the company failed to keep pace with the new situation and carried on its work in routine ways. The Party committee for the regiment assigned me the task of dealing with this matter. I thought to myself: The machine gun company had long been an advanced unit which used to oppose arrogance and self-complacency. The fact that the company showed not much improvement now might be due to revival of the idea that "almost enough has been done." In the circumstances, it would be imperative to overcome self-complacency in the first place. However, when I explained to the machine gun company how I looked at the matter, the new company leader and political instructor told me: "Comrade chief, the living idea you refer to is non-existent. We have not been long with the company. We have neither old capital nor new achievement. So far as we are concerned, the problem is how to accomplish something. How could we become 'self-complacent'!"

How is it that my way of thinking did not correspond with theirs? With this specific problem in mind, I studied over and over Chairman Mao's great teaching: "The most fundamental method of work which all Communists must firmly bear in mind is to determine our working policies according to actual conditions." ("Speech at a Conference of Cadres in the Shansi-Suiyuan Liberated Area") In my case, the trouble was that not respecting the objective reality I committed the error of subjectivism.

Circumstances were constantly changing, so were the living ideas. Of the four company cadres of the 1st machine gun company, three had been transferred elsewhere; the company leader was transferred from the other company, and both the political instructor and the platoon leader were those promoted from the lower ranks. The leading group changed and new problems cropped up in company building. Living ideas found in the past did not necessarily exist at present. Specific problems should be analyzed in specific ways, and one cannot judge living ideas from subjective imaginations.

With a view to thrashing out the problem confronting the machine gun company, I had personal talks with men of the company, called fact-finding meetings and organized discussion of the problem among the cadres and fighters. I also comprehensively investigated and analyzed the thoughts of the backbone elements of the Party branch for the company. I found that so far as they were concerned the living idea was not "self-complacency" as I imagined but mainly a matter of "fear." In particular, two leading cadres of the company carried a heavy "ideological baggage," feeling the pressure of an advanced company, fearing trouble, and daring not expose contradictions and resolve problems. The result was that the company was reduced to a passive state in its work. Criticizing the cadres, the fighters had this to say: "They have 'fear' uppermost in their minds and are afraid of losing the four-good title."

In view of this state of affairs, I and the Party branch for the company decided to launch a small-scale rectification campaign to overcome "fear."

The small-scale rectification campaign pinpointed the problem, hit the vital part of the target and achieved satisfactory results. Mass politico-ideological activities like "everyday reading," "small night school" and "red pair" were promoted in the company. As a result, four-good aspects showed some improvement.

From the process in which "self-complacency" was changed into "fear" I realized further that what Chairman Mao taught in his "On Practice"--"If a man wants to succeed in his work, that is, to achieve the anticipated results, he must bring the ideas into correspondence with the laws of objective external world; if they do not correspond, he will fail in his practice"--is an immutable truth. Only when we base our subjective idea and wish on respect for the objective reality can we follow Chairman Mao at each step and make a good job of revolutionary work. An important reason for subjectivism,which is divorced from the objective reality, is the lazy man's mentality. One who is lazy and afraid of hardship will take things easy and choose the straight road when doing a thing. When encountering a problem one will be reluctant to make investigation and reluctant to analyze the circumstances with the inevitable result that the complicated objective reality will be over-simplified and one will sink into the quagmire of one-sidedness.

To guard against subjectivism and ensure that I did not escape from reality, I grasped three links in my practical work: 1) In dealing with a problem I resolutely followed Chairman Mao's teaching "Without investigation no right to speak," ruthlessly combated the lazy man's mentality and made a good job of investigation and study. While investigating important things I did not neglect unimportant things; while investigating complicated things I did not make a careless approach to simple things; while investigating things that were beyond my grasp I did not arbitrarily make decisions on things which were within my grasp. In the course of thoroughgoing investigation and study, the progress of work seemed to be slow but the problem was solved quickly. 2) In the process of investigating the realities, I resolutely followed Chairman Mao's teaching "Do work meticulously," ruthlessly combated the lazy man's mentality marked by crude style, and guarded against the practice of substituting hearsay for painstaking and deep-going investigation and taking the phenomenon as the substance of things. Only a deep-going analysis of the objective conditions can lead to correct judgment on practical problems. 3) Having understood some problems through investigation and study and having achieved some success in work, I resolutely followed Chairman Mao's teaching, "Practice, knowledge, more practice and more knowledge," ruthlessly combated the lazy man's attitude--relying on old impressions, seeking no progress and studying no new problems--repeated practice, and constantly enriched and raised my knowledge. Only those who respect the objective reality are free from subjectivism.

In this way, each time the lazy man's mentality was combated my critical awareness of the need to respect the objective reality was raised, my head become sober and my work made a smooth progress. I deeply realize that the process of basing my subjective idea and wish on respect for the objective

reality is the very process of using Mao Tsetung thought to observe and handle problems and the very process of ridding myself of the idealist world outlook and establishing the dialectical materialist outlook on the world.

Basing My Idea and Method on Concentration of the Mass Wisdom

Subjectivism often finds its manifestations in the distrust of the masses. While knowing that "the masses are the true heroes" and that I should learn from the masses with an open mind, in medical work I often took the view that, being a leading cadre, I should make my own decision because company cadres and fighters, whose experience was almost the same as mine, were not necessarily the wiser. For this reason, I often dealt with some problems according to my subjective view, paid little attention to consulting the masses, and overlooked concentration of the mass wisdom.

The tasks of our regiment this year were pressing, heavy and highly technical in character. New tasks, environments and conditions posed many new problems of ideological and political work. At the start, I did not consult the masses fully and, on the basis of my own understanding about the characteristics of the tasks, proposed measures for conducting political education, dealing with the living ideas and carrying out "everyday reading" activity. A subsequent check-up revealed that many aspects of the company's political, educational and ideological work had not been satisfactorily carried out.

How is it that these measures put forward by me failed to solve the problem? With this specific problem in mind I conscientiously studied Chairman Mao's teaching--"In all the practical work of our Party, all correct leadership is necessarily 'from the masses, to the masses.'" ("Some Questions Concerning Methods of Leadership") I came to realize that the practice and experience of my struggle should be taken as the foundation of our plans, ideas and methods. I came up against a snag because the measures and methods proposed by me did not come from the practice of cadres and fighters, nor from my own experience gained in practical work; they were products of some "inspiration" I had gained. How could a "key," product of subjectivism, open the "lock" of practical struggle!

Accordingly, I changed my method. I went deep into companies and learned from the cadres and fighters who were engaged in the practice of struggle. I processed and sorted out the "raw materials" and "semi-finished products" acquired from practice, and put forward measures suited to realities. These measures soon solved the problem. Taking into account the characteristics of squad operations, the 3rd machine gun company, before conducting political education, let its cadres and backbone elements take the lead in study; after that, forces were divided to grasp the work and strengthen the concrete leadership in political education. In the process of political education, the 6th company set a particular problem to be solved during a particular period; it adopted the method of "special subject and small course of study" to ensure that political education was conducted purposefully and vividly. The 2nd company adopted the method of "study before work, apply in the course of work, evaluate the result after work,

and fight self in order to achieve the major target," and satisfactorily integrated study with application. The 2nd machine gun company went on expanding the mass ideological and political work by means of small-scale comment, analytical meetings, discussion and evaluation meetings and "red pair" activity. We combined these experiences into an integrated whole, devised a set of methods for carrying out ideological and political work, and popularized these methods in the whole regiment. According to company cadres and fighters, these methods were practical, useful and instrumental in developing politico-ideological work in companies.

Looking back on the circumstances in which this thing happened, I realize that one will surely come up against a snag if one disregards the masses and does things according to one's subjective imaginations. On the other hand, if one acts according to the objective circumstances and the practice of mass struggle, one can do things well no matter how difficult they are. True, it is of great importance that a leading cadre uses his brains and concentrates the wisdom of the masses, so he can think deep and far, strike upon good ideas and devise good methods.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "We should adhere to the mass line and consult the masses when problems arise and be school children of the masses. In a certain sense, the wisest and most talented are the fighters with the richest practical experience." This great teaching of Chairman Mao's embodies most fully and penetratingly the fundamental principle of dialectical materialism and historical materialism. In the past, I placed myself above the masses and saw only the so-called wisdom of mine while losing sight of the wisdom of the masses. I ran counter to the principle of dialectical materialism and historical materialism. The reason was that my mind was clogged by "arrogance." Being "arrogant," I estrange myself from the masses and fell into the quagmire of idealism and metaphysics.

Having found out the root of the problem, I voluntarily went into the thick of mass struggle, fought arrogance and self-complacency and became a pupil of the masses. In practice I often found the gap and learned from the advanced. In carrying out new assignments and solving difficult problems I solicited opinions from the masses and respected every bit of sound proposals made by the masses. When there was a divergence of views between me and the masses, I humbly listened to and carefully considered the views of the masses. Practice made me realize further that joining the masses in practice and learning from the masses is the best way of using Mao Tsetung thought to transform my world outlook.

Correcting Mistakes and Continuing to Advance

I have also realized from practice that correct ideas and actions develop in the ceaseless struggle against erroneous ideas and actions. Shortcomings and mistakes are not to be feared. What is to be feared is a subjectivist attitude towards my shortcomings and mistakes and refusal to know and correct them.

In the second half of last year arrangements were made whereby construction at the basic level was strengthened. The regimental Party committee suggested that organ cadres stay at selected points in companies. In accord with this suggestion, I decided to make the whole section send a few more cadres down. However, shortly after they were sent down, a number of contradictions arose. Some comrades were obliged to stay at selected points in day time and to return to their office in the evenings to handle the work there. Some comrades criticized me for neglecting office work and organizing forces improperly, accusing me of subjectivism. At first, I found such criticism quite unpleasant. To my mind, they lacked sufficient understanding about the basic level. In criticizing me, they were bargaining with me concerning their work. They did not look at the matter from my point of view. Later, I dispassionately pondered over this problem and felt that as a leader I should get at the root of the problem in the first place. I took all aspects of the work into consideration and found that these comrades, who criticized me, had assignments from the higher level, assignments they were obliged to carry out, and that it was feasible for them to carry out these assignments before going down to the basic level. Why did I indiscriminately treat everything in the same way? I had shortcomings and yet I found criticism unpleasant to my ears. My attitude was one of denying shortcomings and mistakes, wasn't it? Later, at a meeting of the whole section I examined my shortcomings, seriously accepted comrades' criticism and, together with all, studied and resolved the contradiction in work.

From the way I dealt with the question of assigning personnel to selected points, I came to realize that no subjectivism could be tolerated in handling any problem and dealing with any shortcoming. One who is guilty of subjectivism will look only at one's correct side and lose sight of the wrong side. One will regard shortcomings and mistakes as a bad thing, not realizing that a bad thing can be changed into a good thing. In analyzing shortcomings, one will look only at the phenomenon instead of the substance. Chairman Mao teaches us: "If, in the interest of the people, we persist in doing what is right and correct what is wrong, our ranks will surely thrive." ("Serve the People") Chairman Mao's teaching made me deeply realize that to correct mistakes or not is a major question of whether a revolutionary fighter can carry out uninterrupted and thoroughgoing revolution and is an important watershed between dialectical materialism and subjective idealism.

It frequently occurs to me that when I dare not admit my shortcomings and mistakes and am afraid of criticism I am actually afraid of revolution and am not prepared to rid my mind of bourgeois 'selfish concept'. Criticism is nothing to be feared. What is to be feared is that others will not criticize me. With this understanding, whenever the masses criticized me I would guard against bourgeois 'private concept' which interfered with correction of my shortcomings and mistakes. Whenever there was divergence of views and criticism was too severe, I would, in accord with Chairman Mao's teaching "Correct mistakes if you have committed them and guard against them if you have not" see to it that I will not vent my anger and I will fight self and repudiate revisionism in the depth of my soul, correctly treat criticism if it is right, and watch out if there is a divergence of opinions. I used to go to companies and, together with fighters,

fought self and repudiated revisionism. I used to listen to the criticisms of the advanced fighters and attach importance to the views of the backward fighters. When my subordinates criticized the policy pursued by the department, I would find the cause of the problem from my side and, together with other comrades, solicit opinions from each company. Each time I went out on duty, I would report to the Party branch and Party fraction for the organ on the state of my mind, solicit their opinions and constantly improve my thought and style. I deeply realize that it is particularly important for a leading cadre to persist, in the interest of the people, in doing what is right and correcting what is wrong. If one conscientiously examines and correct one's shortcomings and mistakes, one will lose only the baggage of subjectivism and the dust of bourgeois ideology and will get in return consciousness for continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and the strength of vigorous advance.

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Consciously Transform One's World Outlook

by

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(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 11, Oct. 14, 1970)

The "Communique of the 2nd Plenary Session of the 9th CCP Central Committee" points out: "It is essential to continue to deepen the mass movement for the living study and application of Mao Tsetung thought and, in close coordination with the practice of the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, production struggle and scientific experiment, to use Marxism, Leninism, and Mao Tsetung thought to transform the world outlook consciously." It is particularly important for us comrades engaged in leadership work to implement this militant call conscientiously.

Looking back on the practice of struggle since I took up the post as chairman of the hsien revolutionary committee and the hsien Party committee secretary, I deeply realize that at each step forward I could not go forward without the aid of brilliant Mao Tsetung thought. Whenever I grasped and studied Mao Tsetung thought well, my work improved; conversely, my work came to a standstill or even ran into trouble. This was also the case with the leading group of our revolutionary committee. Whenever the leading group consciously transformed the world outlook, its spirit of serving the people was well manifested and its work continued to go forward in the revolutionary direction indicated by Chairman Mao.

At the initial stage in the establishment of our hsien revolutionary committee, comrades of the leading group were so enthusiastic and vigorous, and they were determined to carry out the tasks of the proletarian dictatorship and change the poverty-stricken and backward features of Chienp'ing hsien. However, some comrades did not place the living study and application of Mao Tsetung thought in the primary position, and they relied only on enthusiasm for their work. After a period of time, some became arrogant and self-complacent because of some success; others got disappointed when running into difficulties; still others put on official airs and gradually estranged themselves from the masses. These phenomena gave us food for deep thought. The formation of a new "three-in-one" leading group did not amount to full implementation of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. The new leading group, if they wanted to wield power and use it effectively in the interest of the proletariat and the laboring people, must depend on the leadership of Mao Tsetung thought. Great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: "The proletariat seeks to transform the world according to its own world outlook, and so does the bourgeoisie." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People") To transform the world according to the proletarian world outlook presupposes arming the minds of leading cadres with Mao Tsetung thought and transforming their own world outlook. If the world outlook of leaders is not conscientiously transformed, there will be no way of making a success of work and there will be danger of going down the wrong path of revisionism.

The line of defence against revisionism and change should be built primarily in the minds of leading cadres; the road to capitalism should be blocked by the leading group in the first place. Since then, we placed the living study and application of Mao Tsetung thought and the transformation of world outlook in the primary position of all work. In light of the practice of struggle and the living ideas of the leading group at each period, we organized repeated study of Chairman Mao's works and ceaselessly raised our consciousness in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The world outlook of the members of the leading group has not been transformed without struggle. The first problem encountered was that the self-consciousness of some comrades was not high. They took the view that with the army representative exercising strict supervision, the revolutionary cadres had touched on their soul in the movement and the representatives of the masses could not go wrong because they had new thoughts and new style. They held that even should there be some problems, ideological struggle could not be vigorously waged. When we studied Chairman Mao's works, it frequently happened that we did more to integrate study with our work and little to link our study with our thought. We studied Chairman Mao's teaching--"We advocate active ideological struggle because it is a weapon for achieving unity within the Party and within the revolutionary bodies to facilitate combat." We roundly repudiated renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i's "theory of peace within the Party," raised our understanding about the protractedness, complexities and the twists and turns of class struggle, set right the relationship between the force of revolution and the target of revolution, and increased our critical awareness in transforming the world outlook. Subsequently, whenever we found undesirable tendencies we would proceed from the consolidation of the proletarian dictatorship, fight on our own initiative, conduct repeated struggle centered on the problem of political orientation, and take the lead in fighting bourgeois "self" in our minds. All of us said with deep understanding: "The spirit of conscientious self-criticism is a manifestation of critical awareness of continuous revolution."

Chairman Mao teaches: "To be good 'squad leaders' the secretaries should learn and study well." ("Party Committee's Method of Work") Before the leading group achieves ideological revolutionization, the "squad leader" should consciously transform his world outlook. Practice has made me deeply realize that the leader should take the lead in the living study and application of Mao Tsetung thought and in transforming the world outlook. If the leader relaxes his effort in this respect, the revolutionization of the whole group will be adversely affected.

Once we achieved some success in the work in our hsien, and the higher body commended us many times and the press regularly publicized our achievements. At that time, I became self-complacent, and other comrades also developed some unhealthy ideas, with the result that our work was not as remarkable as in the past. I summed up lessons of experience and found that my idea of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat was not firmly established. Thus, I studied Chairman Mao's teaching over and over again--"We must see to it that our comrades continue

to be modest, prudent and guard against arrogance and impetuosity and continue to maintain the style of arduous struggle." I took the lead in fighting bourgeois 'self', and regularly knocked off my official airs and arrogance. Whenever our work was not satisfactorily developed and the leading group ran into some trouble, I would find the cause and the gap in my own world outlook. Following my example, other leading members took a divisive view of themselves and consciously fought the erroneous ideas that impeded the continuous revolution.

Mass help and supervision are indispensable conditions for transforming the world outlook and revolutionizing the leading group. Going among the masses and exposing contradictions through the masses, we can burn up the dirty things on our body more effectively; otherwise the "struggle will go on behind closed doors and cannot develop in depth." We often launched an open-door rectification campaign, that is, we invited representatives of the masses to join the campaign and placed the problems of the leading group before the masses; or else, we went out, reported to the masses on our thought and work and invited the masses to make suggestions. In March this year all members of the hsien revolutionary committee visited a commune beset with "old, big and difficult problems" and, together with the basic-level cadres and the masses, dissected the sparrow. The poor and lower-middle peasants sharply criticized the leading body: "The commune is beset with 'old, big and difficult problems' and the reason for this is that the hsien leadership judges the cadres merely by their attitude toward work and lets one showing serious capitalist spontaneity become chairman of the commune revolutionary committee." This case was a shock to us because it revealed that in employing cadres we failed to follow strictly Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. "The masses are true heroes." The poor and lower-middle peasants not only helped us lift the lid of class struggle in the commune but also helped us realize further that to revolutionize the leading group it would be imperative to heighten the consciousness for two-line struggle, to draw a distinction between Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line as an important feature of the transformation of the world outlook.

"It will take a long time to change the world outlook thoroughly." The problem of realizing ideological revolutionization of the leading group cannot be completely solved through one struggle, and it will be necessary to conduct struggle over and over agian. From the more than two years' practice we have found one fixed pattern of development: when the work was making smooth progress, one was likely to become arrogant and self-complacent; when running into difficulties, one was likely to fear difficulties and vacillate; when the interest of the revolution was in conflict with personal interest, one was likely to worry about this and that; when the situation was developing fast, one was likely to become a rightist and conservative. Along with the development of the situation, we must study Mao Tsetung thought over and over in light of the realities, ceaselessly overcome the idea of half-way revolution that appears in various forms, and gradually establish the proletarian outlook on the world. In solving this problem, we paid attention to integrating study of Chairman Mao's philosophic writings closely with study of the "three constantly read articles,"

painstakingly studied and gradually applied dialectical materialism, and historical materialism in observing and dealing with problems and constantly examined the thought and work of each leading member, using as the yardstick the spirit of serving the people thoroughly, making ever greater improvement and fearing no sacrifice. We firmly establish the idea of serving the vast majority of people in China and the whole world with all our hearts. On the road to continuous revolution, in ideological revolution we should look at the summit, move on solid ground, overcome all difficulties and climb one "slope" after another in the same way as we climb mountains. As long as our life lasts, we must keep on climbing the slopes until we attain communism.

Revolutionizing the style of leadership and method of leadership is an important aspect of transforming the world outlook. Most of our comrades in the leading group lacked experience in leading all-round work. When the situation was developing fast and the tasks were heavy, most of our comrades often kept themselves busy without grasping the key point and plugged holes in their work. At the new high tide in agricultural production, many comrades sought to fight a battle aimed at a breakthrough in agriculture; but, when the natural conditions in our hsien located in the mountain area in west Liaoning, where the climate is dry, the soil is poor, soil erosion is serious and natural disasters are frequent occurrence, were taken into consideration, they lacked methods to leap forward in their work.

How to make revolution with courage and daring and know the way of making revolution? With this specific problem in mind, we conscientiously studied "On Practice," "On Contradiction," and "Where Do Man's Correct Ideas Come From?" and "Party Committee's Method of Work." Chairman Mao teaches us: "Often, correct knowledge can be arrived at only after many repetitions of the process leading from matter to consciousness and then back to matter, that is, leading from practice to knowledge and then back to practice." ("Where Do Man's Correct Ideas Come From?") Chairman Mao's teaching pointed to the way to leap forward. Why were we at the end of our resources? Because some comrades were accustomed to sitting in their office, hearing reports and expecting materials; even if they went down to the lower level, they did not conscientiously make investigation and study, did not appropriate a mass of materials, did not raise their perceptual knowledge to the plane of rational knowledge through serious thinking. Having found the root of our problem, we broke the "bureaucratic" style, stepped out of office, and went into the thick of the three great revolutionary movements. Together with the masses, we analyzed anew the natural conditions of our hsien from the one-divides-into-two viewpoint and took the favorable factors into account while looking at difficulties. In this way, we became more clear-sighted and clear-minded and were able to devise more ways and means.

Take the problem of water sources for example. Formerly, the capitalist-roaders talked nonsense about conditions in Chienp'ing. They said that Chienp'ing "has numerous rivers but no water" and agricultural production has no future. We made investigations and study and proceeded with an analysis on the basis of materialistic dialectics. We came to realize that the existence of numerous rivers showed availability of water, seeing that without water no rivers could be formed. "Numerous rivers and

no water" was an indication that water was not conserved. Provided the subjective activity of the masses was brought into full play to control nature and provided ways and means were devised to prevent soil erosion, water would be made available! Relying on invincible Mao Tsetung thought and on the wisdom of the masses, we finally devised measures for sinking small indigenous wells and retaining the under flow, measures which were suited to the conditions in our hsien, and resolved the difficulty arising from lack of water. After more than two years' efforts, the irrigated area increased three-fold.

If we analyze and know things according to Chairman Mao's philosophic thinking, and adhere to the mass line, our knowledge can take a leap forward and ways can be found for our work. As it is with production struggle, so it is with the class struggle. Having tasted the sweetness of staying at selected points, making deep-going investigation and study and grasping the typical case, we turned this method of leadership into a system. The hsien leading group is expected to make this approach; moreover, the leading groups at all levels in the hsien area are required to make this approach.

While the leading group of our hsien revolutionary committee has achieved some success over the past two years, what has been done is far from enough and is still far from the demand of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee and from what the whole people of our hsien expect from us. Our study of great Mao Tsetung thought is not systematic and deep-going enough and is not applied sufficiently in a living way. We are determined to respond to the call of the 2nd Plenary Session of the 9th CCP Central Committee by painstakingly and conscientiously studying and applying Mao Tsetung thought in a living way in the course of actual struggle. We will go one step further to raise the degree of our ideological revolutionization and serve the people better.

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Relying on Materialist Dialectics to Work Well

- Thoughts on staying in the countryside for half a year.

by

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Vice Chairman, Kansu Provincial Revolutionary Committee

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 11, Oct. 14, 1970)

The Communique of the Second Plenary Session of the 9th Party Central Committee points out: "It is imperative to continue to deepen the mass movement for the living study and application of Mao Tsetung thought and use Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought consciously to remold our world outlook, linking closely with practice in the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment. The whole Party must conscientiously study Chairman Mao's philosophic works, uphold dialectical materialism and historical materialism and oppose idealism and metaphysics."

To leading cadres at all levels, particularly high-ranking ones, this militant call is of vital significance for the transformation of both the subjective and objective worlds and for making a success of the work of leadership.

This year, I went to P'ingliang district to work with the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants and basic-level cadres, developing the "1-attack, 3-anti" movement and developing agriculture with vigor. Having worked at the basic level for half a year, I have deeply realized that it is only when one studies and applies Chairman Mao's philosophical works in a living manner with the masses in revolutionary practice and masters materialist dialectics that one can advance one's ideological revolutionization and fundamentally raise one's consciousness of thorough implementation of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and various policies and principles.

The great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: "The viewpoint of practice is the first and fundamental viewpoint of the dialectical-materialist theory of knowledge." ("On Practice") "Our comrades should be educated in the dialectical-materialist theory of knowledge so that they may adjust their thinking, be good at carrying out investigation and studies, sum up their experiences, overcome their difficulties, make fewer mistakes, and do their work well." ("Where Do Man's Correct Ideas Come From?") Practice has enabled me to understand that it is only by applying the scientific method of investigation and study that we can obtain correct understanding of things and achieve the two active leaps, i.e., from perceptual knowledge to rational knowledge and from rational knowledge to revolutionary practice.

Among some production brigades which I visited, some are advanced while others are backward. Some production brigades, being more or less equal in natural conditions and in the availability of labor power, have nevertheless achieved different results in production. Chaipo production brigade of Hsinkai Commune in Lingt'ai hsien has 78 percent of mountainous land, which is all dry. In the movement for learning from Tachai in agriculture, its poor and lower-middle peasants, after removing more than 800,000 cubic meters of earth, built on a steep slope of lean soil 500 mow of high-standard terraced fields. This year, the production brigade has owned an average of one mow of stable and high-yield land per capita. Last year, under the threat of a serious drought, the average per mow output on the terraced fields on the mountainous land was 350 catties. For the last six years, besides annually supplying the State with its extra output as commodity grain, the brigade has stored up a collective grain reserve of 210,000 catties.

On the other hand, Chingts'un production brigade of Tutien Commune has natural conditions which are superior to those of Chaipo production brigade and 71 percent of its land is flat land. Its labor supply is also larger than that of Chaipo brigade. However, its grain output is lower and its contributions to the State smaller. "There will be no evaluation without comparisons." ("Speech at the National Propaganda Work Conference of the Chinese Communist Party") We grasped these two typical examples--one is good and the other bad, and studied Chairman Mao's philosophical thinking with comrades of the district, hsien and communes.

We all saw that of all the merits the Chaipo brigade had, the best was that its leadership group was able to raise the flag, adhere firmly to the socialist orientation, and implement seriously the great policy of "grasping revolution and promoting production." As a result of this, the brigade has scored a twin victory in revolution and production. Of all the shortcomings the Chingts'un brigade had, the worst was that the principal members of its leadership group had forgotten the class struggle and embarked the evil road of capitalism.

Practice has once more proved that if we depart from proletarian politics and grasp production for its own sake, we cannot increase production and we might, instead, even take the capitalist evil road. But if we bring proletarian politics to the fore, grasp revolution, promote production, and turn spirit into matter, we surely can develop socialist production and fulfill the great task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat at the basic level.

Having dissected these two sparrows, found the abstract from the concrete and the general from the specific and having tested our knowledge of the Chaipo and Chingts'un production brigades in the practice of the communes and other brigades, we drew the conclusion as follows: Where the leadership group firmly carries out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, perseveres in the fight against nature, the class enemy and the bourgeois "self" in people's minds, there the situation of revolution and production is excellent; otherwise it is bad. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung

thought is revolutionary and critical, calling for class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

On the basis of this understanding, we and the comrades in the areas assisted the hsien in organizing the more than 1,000 basic-level cadres and poor and lower-middle peasants in the 14 communes of the hsien to pay a visit to Chaipo production brigade. At the same time, we organized rural Mao Tsetung thought propaganda teams and sent them to the various production brigades of Hsinkai Commune. There, they conducted large-scale debates on the topic "Our natural conditions are similar to those of Chaipo, but why have we failed in learning from Tachai?" In the process, the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines was taken as the key. With Chaipo--this advanced model--as the guide, the masses were freely mobilized, contradictions were exposed, problems were found from the struggle between the two lines, and answers were solicited from Chairman Mao's works. As a result of these debates, the comrades of the various brigades clearly saw their gaps with Chaipo: "We have neglected the fundamental and the key; the crucial gap lies in leadership." The result was that Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and policy of "self-reliance" and "hard work and plain living" were further implemented at the basic level and the tempo of learning from Tachai in agriculture was speeded up throughout the hsien.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "We must gradually popularize dialectics, requiring everyone to gradually learn to use this scientific method of dialectics." ("Speech at the National Propaganda Work Conference of the Chinese Communist Party") As a result of my six-month practice in the countryside, I have realized that we--cadres in charge of leadership work--must learn to apply Chairman Mao's "one dividing into two" dialectics to analyze and solve contradictions and impell things to move forward.

When we arrived at the advanced Chaipo production brigade, what we first heard and saw were a mass of advanced deeds. At the same time, however, we also discovered the existence of feelings of conceit and complacency. Said some cadres: "Our work is now in the forefront. Even if we work slowly and at a leisurely pace now, we surely shall not lag behind." Some commune members, pointing at the terraced fields, said: "Now that terraced fields are built on the mountain, we can relax now."

When we arrived at the backward Chingts'un production brigade, apart from seeing various manifestations of the brigade's principal leaders being lured by the enemy into taking the evil road of capitalism, we also saw the vast fund of socialist activism deposited among the poor and lower-middle peasants and the majority of the cadres. They had fought the class enemies a number of times. The reality sharply posed us a question: How to apply the "one dividing into two" viewpoint to see the backward aspects of an advanced brigade and the positive factors of a backward brigade, how to grasp the main contradictions, how to turn a contradiction into its opposite, to make an advanced brigade still more advanced and a backward brigade an advanced one.

With this problem in mind, we studied Chairman Mao's teaching with the poor and lower-middle peasants and cadres of these two brigades. The teaching said: "It is wrong to view our work either from the viewpoint of affirming everything or from the viewpoint of negating everything."("Speech at the National Propaganda Work Conference of the Chinese Communist Party") Arming our heads with Chairman Mao's brilliant philosophical thinking, we spotted the problems of the two brigades. Having grasped the main contradictions and clearly defined the orientation of the offensive, we used different methods to solve contradictions of different nature, causing them to transform themselves in a direction favorable to the revolution.

In Chaipo production brigade, a big debate was extensively launched on "How did we achieve our results in Chaipo?" and "what should we do when the whole hsien is learning from Chaipo?" This greatly raised the consciousness of the broad masses in continuing the revolution and boosted their forward drive.

Chingts'un production brigade fiercely grasped the class struggle, struck at the small handful of class enemies, harshly criticized the capitalist tendencies, and united with the great majority of the cadres, thus bringing into full play the socialist activism of the cadres and the masses and bringing about a boom both in revolution and production.

Chairman Mao, our great leader, teaches us, saying: "The struggle of the proletariat and the revolutionary people for transforming the world consists in the realization of the following tasks: Transforming the objective world as well as their own subjective world--improving their own capacity for knowledge and the relations between the subjective world and the objective world." ("On Practice") In the half a year of stay in the countryside, I have seen with my own eyes the vigorous development of the mass movement for living study and application of Mao Tsetung thought among the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants. Yet, even though I was doing leadership work, I lagged far behind the broad masses in my consciousness of having study and application of Mao Tsetung thought. As I look back to the past, although subjectively I had always wanted to follow Chairman Mao in carrying out the revolution, why did I make this or that mistake in my work? The basic question was that I did not arm myself with materialist dialectics and could not use the "one dividing into two" viewpoint to look at myself and transform my world outlook conscientiously. As a result, I often sank into some sort of blindness in my work.

Since joining the three-combination revolutionary committee, I have raised my consciousness. This is the result of my being nurtured with Chairman Mao's brilliant philosphical thinking and also the result of the guidance given me by the leadership, encouragement by the masses, and help from my comrades. Summing up my experiences and lessons, I know that only by continuing to fight self and criticize revisionism and transforming my world outlook can I truly master Chairman Mao's philosophical thinking. I am determined to respond to the call of the 2nd Plenary Session of the 9th Party Central Committee, take the basic level as the classroom and the masses as my teachers, and creatively study and apply Chairman Mao's philosophical works in the practice of the three great revolutionary movements of class

struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment. In this way, I shall continue to raise my consciousness of transforming my world outlook, raise my consciousness of thorough implementation of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and various principles and policies, transform myself for the rest of my life, and closely follow our great leader Chairman Mao in making revolution as long as I live.

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Decision Concerning Conscientious Study of Chairman Mao's Philosophical Works

(Adopted on October 2, 1970 at the 105th Standing Committee Meeting of Tientsin Municipal Revolutionary Committee)

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 11, Oct. 14, 1970)

The Second Plenary Session of the 9th Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party issued this call: "The whole Party must conscientiously study Chairman Mao's philosophical works, promote dialectical materialism and historical materialism, and oppose idealism and metaphysics." We firmly respond to this call and seriously put it into effect.

Our great leader Chairman Mao's brilliant philosophical thinking represents the scientific world outlook and methodology for the proletarian revolution, the theoretical basis for the Party's line, principles and policies, and a mighty weapon for the transformation of the objective and subjective worlds. Studying Chairman Mao's philosophical works and carrying out his great teaching "let philosophy be liberated from the classroom of philosophers and from books and turned into a sharp weapon in the hands of the masses" is of extremely vital significance to strengthening the Party's ideological building, impelling the struggle-criticism-transformation movement, consolidating and strengthening the proletarian dictatorship, continuing to fulfill all the combat tasks put forth by the 9th Party Congress, and winning new victories in the three great revolutionary movements.

The mass movement for study of Chairman Mao's philosophical works among workers, peasants and soldiers in Tientsin city was started in 1958. From the moment it began, it met with interference and sabotage from the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i and his agents in philosophical circles such as Yang Hsien-chen (楊獻珍). The development of the mass movement for study of Chairman Mao's philosophical works in Tientsin experienced an acute struggle between the two classes and two lines. The great proletarian cultural revolution opened up a broad path for workers, peasants and soldiers to study philosophy. With the direct concern of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao and with Vice Chairman Lin as the deputy, the mass movement among workers, peasants and soldiers for living study and application of Chairman Mao's philosophical thinking developed very rapidly. Since the 9th Party Congress, many factories, mines, communes, State organs, schools, enterprises and business undertakings have set up philosophy study groups. Under the impetus given by the Communique of the 2nd Plenary Session of the 9th Party Central Committee, a new upsurge is rising throughout the city in the mass movement for living study and application of Chairman Mao's philosophical works. This is an important mark of the continued deepening of the mass movement for living study and application of Mao Tsetung thought.

In order to develop the favorable situation, continue to make revolution, press ahead with the victories won, and make the mass movement

for living study and application of Mao Tsetung thought develop in depth in the direction indicated by the Communique of the 2nd Plenary Session of the 9th Party Central Committee throughout the city, leading cadres at all levels must keep themselves abreast of the vigorous development of the living study and application of Chairman Mao's philosophical works among workers, peasants and soldiers, intensify their own studies, and lead the masses to march forward. To this end:

1. Factories and mines, communes, State organs, schools, neighborhood organizations, enterprises and business undertakings must continue to deepen the mass movement for living study and application of Mao Tsetung thought, stir up an upsurge of living study and application of Chairman Mao's philosophical works, and undertake conscientious study of Chairman Mao's such philosophical works as "On Practice," "On Contradictions," "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," "Speech at the National Propaganda Work Conference of the Chinese Communist Party," and "Where Do Man's Correct Ideas Come From?" These studies will make the cadres and the masses arm themselves with Chairman Mao's philosophical works, gradually master dialectical materialism and historical materialism, oppose idealism and metaphysics, consciously carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and principles and policies, and push the three great revolutionary movements forward unceasingly.

2. Leading cadres at all levels must take the lead in studying and applying and take the lead in discussing the results of application among the masses. Members of the Municipal Revolutionary Committee, particularly its Standing Committee members, responsible persons of various divisions and groups of organs of the Municipal Revolutionary Committee, responsible persons of various districts and bureaus, and aid-Left personnel of the People's Liberation Army must all the more set themselves as examples and take the lead in studying well. The Municipal Revolutionary Committee will prepare to hold a conference of leading cadres on the living study and application of Chairman Mao's philosophical works toward the end of this year.

3. There must be active elevation of standard on the basis of popularization. It is necessary to give attention to training backbone elements, grasping models well, and leading the masses to grasp the fundamental viewpoints in repeatedly studying and applying so as to go from the shallow to the deep and from the unsystematic to the systematic. In those units which initiated study of Chairman Mao's philosophical works relatively early, it is imperative to sum up the experience and continually raise the level of living study and application of Chairman Mao's philosophical works.

4. It is imperative to turn the three great revolutionary movements into big classrooms for living study and application of Chairman Mao's philosophical thinking, promote the good style of learning in integrating theory with reality, carry out resolutely Vice Chairman Lin's instruction concerning living study and application of Mao Tsetung thought, and seriously popularize the good experiences of workers, peasants and soldiers

in living study and application of Chairman Mao's philosophical works. It is also imperative to study with deep proletarian feelings, to study the viewpoints in relation to reality, to apply the viewpoints in practice, to seek viewpoints when confronted with problems, and to apply whatever has been learned.

5. It is necessary to launch in depth revolutionary mass criticism and to study philosophy in the course of mass criticism. It is essential to continue to criticize the towering crimes of the renegade, hidden traitor, and scab Liu Shao-ch'i and his agents in the philosophical circles such as Yang Hsien-chen in preventing workers, peasants and soldiers from learning philosophy, and to eradicate completely their pernicious influence. With Chairman Mao's dialectical materialism and historical materialism as the weapon, it is necessary to rid our minds of idealism and metaphysics. It is essential to combine the study of philosophy with the study of the "three constantly read articles" and exert vigorous efforts at transforming our world outlook.

6. It is imperative to help positively those workers, peasants and soldiers who have low cultural levels to study theory and culture at the same time so as to "make a breakthrough in culture and scale the peak of theory."

7. Leaders at all levels must truly take up the task of leading the broad masses to engage in living study and application of Mao Tsetung thought. In the future, when arranging work, examining work and summing up the results of work, they must attach first importance to arranging, examining and summing up the results of living study and application of Mao Tsetung thought and to the study of Chairman Mao's philosophical works. They must be good at investigations and studies, constantly analyze the situations, sum up the experiences seriously, further grasp the models well, and hold meetings on application with success. They must gradually explore a set of methods of leadership and methods of study suited to the concrete conditions of their own departments or units. In particular, they must sum up the experiences of leading cadres in studying philosophy well. They must conscientiously implement Chairman Mao's teaching "one-third of the work in an area must be grasped well first," so that from individual spots to the whole area they may realistically lead the mass movement for the study of Chairman Mao's philosophical works in the whole city.

(Originally carried in T'ien-chin [Tientsin] Jih-pao, Oct. 5, 1970)

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Mao Tsetung Thought Guides Us To Build Railways with Greater, Faster, Better and More Economical Results

by

Writing Group of the Railroad Troops of the People's Liberation Army of China

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 11, Oct. 14, 1970)

Following the direction charted by the great leader Chairman Mao, our great socialist fatherland has triumphantly gone through twenty-one militant years.

Over these twenty-one years and especially since the great proletarian cultural revolution, railroad construction in this country has developed by leaps and bounds, scoring a tremendous success. This represents a great victory for Mao Tsetung thought, a great victory for Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, and a rich fruit of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Under the correct leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by the great supreme commander Chairman Mao and with Vice Chairman Lin as the deputy and the Military Commission of the Central Committee, the broad masses of the officers and men of the railroad troops of the PLA, inheriting and bringing into play the excellent tradition that our army is a fighting force as well as a force for work and production, have consistently carried out the general line of "building socialism by going all-out and aiming high to achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results" and the great strategic policy of "be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters and do everything for the people." Playing an active part in railroad construction and fighting shoulder to shoulder with the broad masses of the railroad workers and the poor and lower-middle peasants, they have contributed their strength to the railroad construction for the fatherland and gained some experience.

Giving Prominence to Proletarian Politics, Using Mao Tsetung Thought to Educate People

Similar to other undertakings for the building of socialism, railroad construction in China is carried out in the violent struggle between the two classes, the two roads, the two lines. This struggle finds its concentrated expression primarily in the fundamental question of whether or not proletarian politics should be brought to the fore and whether or not Mao Tsetung thought should be used to educate people.

Over a long period of time, renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i and his agents tried their utmost to carry out a counter-revolutionary line in railroad construction. They trumpeted such

reactionary fallacies as "engineering comes first," "technique comes first" and "material incentive," advertized "giving prominence to politics and carrying out to the letter engineering projects" and that "the fulfillment of an engineering task gives the greatest prominence to politics," and vainly attempted to lead railroad construction astray and to realize the counter-revolutionary aim of restoring capitalism. The broad masses of commanders and fighters used the brilliant instructions of Chairman Mao and Vice Chairman Lin as weapons to wage a firm struggle against them. During the great proletarian cultural revolution, they thoroughly exposed and criticized and repudiated Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, thus enabling everybody to raise further the consciousness in giving prominence to proletarian politics and in the living study and application of Mao Tsetung thought. All comrades declared, "Of all things, the use of Mao Tsetung thought to educate people comes first; of all changes, there can be no change in giving prominence to proletarian politics."

Vice Chairman Lin pointed out, "Once grasped by the broad masses, Mao Tsetung thought would become an inexhaustible force, the spiritual atomic bomb of peerless power." The broad masses of commanders and fighters of the railroad troops cherished a boundlessly profound proletarian feeling for the great leader Chairman Mao, creatively studied and applied Mao Tsetung thought, and incessantly raised their consciousness in the continuation of the revolution. They brought into play the thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit of fearing neither hardship nor death, kept the fatherland in mind, turned their eyes to the world, and achieved greater, faster, better and more economical results in railroad construction for strengthening preparedness against war, consolidating the proletarian dictatorship and aiding and supporting the world revolution. They fought where they were directed by Chairman Mao, and went where life was hardest. They fought where there was no railroad, and once a railroad was completed, they rushed to a new battlefield. They stayed in mountain valleys and lived in work sheds round the year and fought in deserts swept by sand storms, on plateaus where air is rare, and in the ice-bound forests. Displaying their heroism by "telling the high peaks to bow their heads and the rivers to make way," they scaled numerous precipitous cliffs and crossed numerous torrential and dangerous rivers. They braved the sandstorms, rain and snow, and the hot sun; they labored under hot weather conditions of forty or fifty degrees and in frigid weather of more than 50 degrees below zero, and completed the construction of railroads in the deep ravines and complex geological areas known as the "museum of geology." They showed no fear when there was a landslide, when tunnels caved in, or when floods or gas endagered life.

On one occasion, a tunnel caved in, and more than ten cadres and fighters were trapped inside the drift. At the critical moment, although rocks flew down in all directions and breathing became difficult, yet they made an oath to Chairman Mao, saying: "The revolution must be carried out to the last breath, and we are forever loyal to the great leader Chairman Mao!" They persevered in continuing with the fight.

The facts show that the greatest fighting power comes from people armed with Mao Tsetung thought who are brave and not afraid of death. If proletarian politics were not brought to the fore and people's minds were not armed with Mao Tsetung thought, it would be basically impossible to complete the task of railroad construction under such arduous conditions.

By way of practice in the protracted struggle, we come to understand deeply that it is imperative to follow the great leader Chairman Mao's teaching that politics is the supreme commander and the soul and that "political work is the life-blood of all economic work," and persist in bringing proletarian politics to the fore and using Mao Tsetung thought to educate people, to transform their world outlook and to make a success of their ideological revolutionization. In carrying out ideological and political work, we seek to educate people with Mao Tsetung thought, thus transforming the spiritual force into the material force. Although spiritual things are invisible and intangible, yet they have a role to play at all times and forever. The spiritual fruit can and will necessarily yield material fruit.

The engineering project of railroad construction is an arduous and heavy task. It is carried out in a strenuous environment and is of a highly crash character. The work force is highly mobile. All these conditions could lead to contradiction and struggle between proletarian "public interest" and bourgeois "self-interest." With the cadres and fighters properly revolutionized ideologically, at whatever time and under whatever circumstance, even at the time of life and death, they can consciously give prominence to proletarian "public interest." With people armed with Mao Tsetung thought, it is possible to uphold the steadfast and correct political orientation in work, consciously implement and carry out Chairman Mao's general line of building socialism and series of general and specific policies, and boycott and surmount the ideological influence of the bourgeoisie and all exploiting classes, and there will be sustained revolutionary zeal and infinite creative power to surmount any difficulty to be encountered and to fulfill the engineering task with greater, faster, better and more economical results.

Chairman Mao teaches us, "Cadres are a decisive factor, once the political line is determined." ("The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War") The leading bodies at all levels are leaders for bringing proletarian politics to the fore and making a success of ideological revolutionization. The more the cadres exert themselves in the living study and application of Mao Tsetung thought, in consciously transforming their world outlook and in energetically revolutionizing themselves ideologically, the more they can understand to the full extent the great significance of giving prominence to proletarian politics and consciously give first place to using Mao Tsetung thought to educate, transform and cultivate people. With such leaders, it will prove possible for one not to buffet politics no matter how heavy the task is; not to edge out politics no matter how tight the time is; not to loosen the grip on politics no matter how excellent the situation is, and not to neglect bringing politics to the fore no matter how strong the political character of the task is. At all times these leaders persist in putting proletarian politics in command of engineering work and leading the troops to advance in triumph in the direction charted by Chairman Mao.

Firmly Adhering to the Policy of Self-Reliance, Fostering the Tradition of Hard Struggle

The railroad is the "vanguard" of socialist construction. The rapid development of socialist construction calls for the construction of more and better railroads within a shorter period of time and with less material supplies. Railroad construction needs an abundance of material and equipment. On top of this, the areas in which railroads are constructed have poor communication and transportation facilities, and even though material and equipment are available, they often cannot be sent to the site in time. In view of this, only by firmly adhering to the policy of "self-reliance" and fostering the tradition of "hard struggle" can we win time and take the initiative to complete the task of railroad construction with greater, faster, better and more economical results.

To practice self-reliance and hard struggle, it is imperative to rely on the conscious action of the masses and bring the role of man into full play. To accelerate railroad construction, certain material conditions are essential. However, "the decisive factor is man, not things." (On Protracted War") So long as the broad masses are armed with Mao Tsetung thought and the subjective initiative of people are brought into full play, all difficulties can be overcome.

The broad masses of commanders and fighters of the railroad troops have always relied on their own efforts and hard struggle to fulfill victoriously their task under extremely difficult conditions. Whenever the troops reached a worksite, they did not rely on others and wait, but moved ahead against difficulties. Before a temporary road to transport materials was open, they carried machinery and material supplies to the worksite with porters and horses.

When a certain unit took over the work task of building a long tunnel, its commanders and fighters adopted this method, climbed over more than 20 kilometers of mountains, and brought close to 900 tons of machinery and material supplies to the spot ahead of schedule. Because the giant machines could not be transported in this way, they dismantled them and brought the machine parts one by one to the worksite for reassembling, thus insuring the start of work at an early date. When they were short of mechanical equipment, they used crude tools in substitution.

In the course of constructing a tunnel, a certain unit had no pneumatic drill and it used sledge hammers and steel picks to cut eyelects. Because it had no electric lights, it used hurricane lamps for lighting purpose. Because it had no machines for removing the slag, the slag was removed with handcarts and baskets. With sledge hammers and steel picks, the unit cut a tunnel 1,000 meters long and created a national record by drilling a tunnel with manual labor at the fastest speed.

The facts prove that so long as Mao Tsetung thought is put in command and the initiative and creativeness of the masses are fully mobilized, the material conditions that are absent can be created, the poor conditions can be improved, and the limited conditions can play a greater role.

Socialist construction is a whole, and the investment and material supplies for a large number of construction projects must be centrally arranged and solved by the state. In order to reduce the burden of the state, the broad masses of commanders and fighters had the whole situation in mind, and when it was possible, they actively took the initiative to think of ways to arm themselves. For example, the prestressed ferro-concrete beams were all produced by factories with a complete set of modern equipment in the past, and the products must be transported over a long distance to the worksite. A certain unit proceeded from the whole situation of socialist construction, did away with the old convention that a work unit "is concerned only with the putting up of beams but not with making beams," mobilized the masses to rely on their own efforts, erected a workshop with mats and tarpaulins, and set up on the river bank a plant for making beams with indigenous methods. After a hard fight and with the assistance of the local units concerned, it took only a month to carry out successfully the trial production of prestressed ferro-concrete beams that met the engineering requirements.

Some units adapted themselves to local conditions, procured material locally, and produced themselves explosive, bricks and tiles, sleepers and other engineering materials. Some units also produced cement themselves and smelted scrap iron and steel themselves for making machine tools. In this way, they obtained quick results with less investment, solved their own work needs, created wealth for the state, and benefited the building of socialism at a faster rate.

The great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: "If we want to see China rich and strong, we must be prepared for several decades of intensive effort which will include, among other things, carrying out a policy of building our country through hard work and thrift--of practicing strict economy and combating waste." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People") When the material conditions are difficult, it is imperative to foster the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and hard struggle, and even when we are better off in material conditions, it is still necessary to foster such revolutionary spirit.

The broad masses of commanders and fighters firmly bore in mind Chairman Mao's teaching, incessantly criticized and repudiated the fallacious ideas that "the fulfillment of a task gives no thought to expenses" and that "in view of the size of our undertaking, it is immaterial to incur a bit of waste," actively thought of ways to make multiple use of a product, to make greater use of small material and to utilize waste materials, and persisted in saving one nail, one piece of timber, one drop of oil, one unit of electricity, one detonation cap, one inch of fuse for the revolution. Some company units did not use new nails but pulled out old nails from woodboards for reuse. Some company units mended their rubber boots and rubber tires in more than ten places and went on to use them without asking for new ones. The various units also extensively launched mass activities for making technical innovations and improving work designs, thus saving much funds for the state.

While the cadres and fighters were tensely engaged in work, they also carried out agricultural and side production on the slope, along the river

banks, and in front and at the back of their houses. Some units were basically self-supporting in vegetables and meat, thus reducing the burden of the masses and improving the livelihood of the troops. Certain units carrying out work at the alpine zone also successfully planted vegetables and reaped a bumper harvest.

The broad masses of cadres and fighters have come to understand profoundly in practice that the great leader Chairman Mao's policy of "self-reliance and hard struggle" is of great significance to the socialist revolution and socialist construction. We must continue to persist in educating the broad masses of cadres and fighters with this policy so that they may strengthen their proletarian revolutionary spirit, further promote ideological revolutionization, and uphold and foster the glorious traditions of our Party and our army.

Firmly Adhering to the Mass Line, Launching Mass Movements on a Large Scale

The masses of the people are the makers of history and the determinant force that drives history forward. "Any type of work must launch mass movements and it won't do to have no mass movement." Have faith in the masses, rely on the masses and go all out to mobilize the masses--this is the consistent thought of Chairman Mao's as well as the fundamental line of our Party in leading the broad masses of the people to carry out revolution and construction. After the great proletarian cultural revolution, the broad masses have greatly raised their consciousness of the class struggle and the struggle between the two lines, and the extremely great socialist enthusiasm latent in the masses has erupted like the volcano. The mass movement has appeared in powerful waves on the various front, giving impetus to the rapid and powerful development of the socialist revolution and socialist construction in China.

In the construction of railroads, there has always been the struggle between the two lines for and against the launching of mass movements. Renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i and his agents opposed with all their efforts reliance on the socialist enthusiasm of the broad masses, and they boycotted and undermined the mass movement for railroad construction. The onflow of the great proletarian cultural revolution smashed Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, consolidated the proletarian dictatorship and further liberated the productive forces. Guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, led by the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao and with Vice Chairman Lin as the deputy leader, and powerfully coordinated and supported by revolutionary committees at all levels, the combination of the specialized units with the masses of the people and of the armed forces with the militia was enforced and a stirring and seething mass movement was launched in railroad construction.

"The masses have boundless creative power." (Introductory note to "Surplus Labor Has Found a Way Out") The broad masses of militia men and women taking part in railroad construction creatively studied and applied Mao Tsetung thought, feared neither hardship nor death, took practical action to carry out to the letter Chairman Mao's great strategic policy of "be

prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters and do everything for the people," and played an important role in railroad construction. With the militiamen taking a hand and the armymen and civilians fighting shoulder to shoulder, a certain railroad took only a little more than 20 days to complete more than two million cubic meters of earth and stone work, thus creating conditions for opening this railroad to through traffic ahead of schedule. Tempered in practice, the railroad building militiamen quickly grasped the ability to build railroads, and they were able not only to take up ordinary earth and stone work but also to undertake the construction of culverts and tunnels involving more complicated techniques. After the two companies of a certain militia regiment started work independently on a tunnel project, they raised their work efficiency by one and a half times in four months.

As the broad masses of militiamen participated in the construction of railroads, the masses of the people also sallied forth to give aid and support to railroad construction under the leadership of the revolutionary committees at all levels. They actively organized the supply of means of livelihood, opened up transportation routes and carried engineering material. The cheerful men and sprightly horses were seething with enthusiasm, and the scene was a touching one. The old boatmen who risked their lives to escort the Red Army across the river in those years now worked for the construction of railroads. Braving the treacherous rocks and the angry waves, they helped the troops to open up a navigation route along a stretch of river known as the "forbidden area." Some of the masses also directly undertook engineering tasks. The 1,400 sections of culvert tubes needed by a certain railroad were rushed out in nine and a half days by a pipe-making plant organized by domestic women. At the time of laying rails for a railroad, a hsien in the mountainous area mobilized between twenty and thirty thousand people to launch a crash program to cover the roadbed with cinder. Many grayheaded old men and young Red fighters rushed to the battlefield and fought day and night. They triumphantly complete the task of covering the roadbed with more than 80,000 cubic meters of cinder, thus giving powerful aid and support to the laying of rails and enabling the railroad to be opened to through traffic according to schedule.

Practice shows that the extensive mobilization of the masses and the combination of the specialized forces with the masses of the people and of the troops with the militia are correct ways to achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in railroad construction. The local manpower and material resources can thus be fully mobilized, and strength can be concentrated to fight a battle of annihilation. With militiamen taking part in railroad construction, work can be started along the whole line, and the specialized forces can concentrate their strength on attacking such key engineering projects as big bridges and long tunnels, thus accelerating the progress of work. With the armymen and the civilians fighting shoulder to shoulder, the troops are provided with favorable conditions for learning from the poor and lower-middle peasants and different localities, thus developing cordial relations between the armymen and the civilians, between the army and the government, and giving impetus to the revolutionization and militant construction of the armed forces. With the militiamen learning from

the Liberation Army, firmly adhering to the "four firsts," promoting on a large scale the "three-eight work style" and launching the "four-good company movement" in the course of constructing railroads, the implementation of militia work organizationally, politically and militarily is greatly promoted. Meanwhile, the cultivation of technical forces that understand both industrial work and farming will play an enormous role in the struggle for the construction of a socialist new countryside and in the task of safeguarding the railroads in the war against aggression.

In the course of mobilizing the masses to construct railroads, it is imperative to exercise concentrated and unified leadership and to make a success of solidarity and cooperation. It is imperative to handle correctly the relationship between railroad construction and agricultural construction according to Chairman Mao's general policy of developing the national economy with "agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor" and the principle of "overall planning, all-round consideration and proper arrangement." When organizing the participation of militiamen in railroad construction, it is imperative to pay attention to making rational use of the strength of the people without affecting local agricultural production. It is imperative to pay attention to safeguarding the interests of the masses, to combine railroad construction with land reclamation, tree planting and water conservation, and to promote the development of agricultural production. It is imperative to carry out the economic policies of the Party and to pay adequate compensation to the militiamen taking part in the construction of railroads according to the acutal local conditions with all-round consideration given to the interests of the state, the collective and the individual. It is imperative to strengthen ideological and political work for the militiamen and strive to run the militia forces as a great school of Mao Tsetung thought.

Doing Away with Blind Faith, Grasping Science and Technique in Practice

The construction of railroads in mountainous areas is often confronted by complex geological features and a high density of bridges and tunnels. Ninety percent of the total length are made up of bridges and tunnels in some sections, and some sections call for the drilling of long tunnels, multiple tunnels and circular tunnels and the construction of tall bridges and bridges with a big span. Various technical problems are often encountered in construction work, and some problems are rarely seen in the world history of railroad construction. Without solving these problems, the forward development of railroad construction with greater, faster, better and more economical results would be hampered.

In accordance with Chairman Mao's great teaching that "the Chinese people are ambitious and capable and they certainly can overtake and surpass the advanced level of the world in the near future," the broad masses of commanders and fighters criticized and repudiated the revisionist contrabands, such as "there is mystery in technique" and "control of railroads by experts" peddled by Liu Shao-ch'i and his agents. They did away with blind faith, emancipated themselves ideologically, exerted themselves in the mastery of

science and technique and the development of new techniques, attacked and surmounted many technical barriers, and greatly raised the technical level of construction work.

The 13th company of a certain unit was charged with the construction of a big bridge with a new technique of advanced level in the world. Ninety meters high and with a span of 112 meters, the whole bridge was composed of several thousand beams of different sizes connected together with several ten thousand bolts and nuts. The error of connection could not exceed two millimeters. At the time, not a single cadre or fighter in the whole company knew the operational technique. According to the stipulations of foreign conventions, only persons whose technical level was at the fourth grade and who were capable of raising a load of 50 kilograms were permitted to operate on the bridge under the supervision of technicians. However, the commanders and fighters had unlimited faith in Mao Tsetung thought. Cherishing the intense desire to master advanced technique for the revolution, they smashed the foreign conventions, and courageously went to operate on the bridge. They humbly asked the veteran workers for advice and carefully carried out construction work. As a result, they were able to organize construction work independently in less than a week, and this bridge of high quality was completed 41 days ahead of schedule.

Science and technique originate from practice and are used to serve practice. There is no talk of science and technique in departure from practice. "If you want knowledge, you must take part in the practice of changing reality." ("On Practice") To master science and technique, the most important method is "to learn warfare through warfare." In construction work, the leadership at all levels extensively fostered engineering democracy, adopted the forms of drilling troops on the spot, making the officers and men teach each other, short-term training by rotation, and making the old lead the new, organized the cadres and fighters to learn energetically techniques, and quickly raised the construction skill.

Taking the construction of tunnels for illustration, some armed force units lacked experience, but by way of practice, they quickly proceeded from knowing nothing to knowing something, and the Yuehch'eng tunnel was raised from several dozen meters to several hundred meters. They also mastered the technique of drilling tunnels under complex geological conditions.

The technical backbone training team set up by a certain unit at the worksite was described by the masses as the "Worksite university." Teaching was carried out in conjunction with construction work, and students were selected from among the fighters with practical experience for training. Quite a number of them have been promoted as technicians or basic-level cadres.

The bourgeois "authorities" and "experts" ridiculed that our cadres and fighters "know nothing of science and technique." This has fully bared their sinister intention by vainly wanting to monopolize science and technique. The broad masses of cadres and fighters are practicians themselves. They know the "temper" of objective things and understand why they must proceed from actuality in everything. They are brave but they also respect science. On the other hand, the bourgeois "authorities" and "experts" not only regard

their limited book knowledge as fixed and changeless dogmas, but also are divorced from actuality and are not competent to solve problems in the true sense.

Chairman Mao teaches us, "Freedom is the knowledge of necessity and the transformation of the objective world." By way of practice, the broad masses of commanders and fighters have gradually deepened their understanding of objective things, continuously enlarged their sphere of knowledge and raised their ability to transform and overcome nature.

The forest zone of the Northeast in China was in the past always regarded by the bourgeois "experts" as the alpine "forbidden area" in which no construction work could be carried out in the winter. Displaying the heroic spirit of "be the masters but not the slaves of Nature," the commanders and fighters were brave in practice and they courageously explored the laws governing construction work in winter. In the eight months long ice-bound period, they successfully persisted in doing round-the-year construction work at the alpine zone where the temperature dropped to 57 degrees below zero at the lowest. In the course of building bridges, they used Chairman Mao's brilliant philosophical thought as the weapon to analyze the duality of "cold." They transformed the unfavorable condition, summed up by way of practice a set of good methods for "controlling freezing with freezing," and constructed the foundations of the abutments without surrounding them with embankments, pumping off the water or driving piles, thus completing the bridge and building the railroad. The so-called "forbidden area" for road construction is nothing more than a "paper tiger," and once the objective laws are grasped by people through practice, the revolutionary train can triumphantly pass through any "forbidden area."

In order to speed up railroad construction and to grasp quickly advanced science and technique, it is imperative to cultivate and select technical forces from among the cadres and fighters with practical experience. Meanwhile, it is also necessary to unite, educate and transform the original technicians in accordance with the policy adopted by the Party toward intellectuals, thus building an army of technical cadres of the proletariat. This requires our helping the technicians study and apply creatively Mao Tsetung thought and leading them to take the road of forming one with the workers, peasants and soldiers, so that they may consciously get re-educated and completely transform their world outlook in the three great revolutionary struggles.

Guided by Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, the overwhelming majority of technicians have made positive contributions toward solving technical problems in construction work, and quite a number of them are responsible for inventions and innovations.

A section of the railroad constructed by a certain unit had to pass through a mire zone. It was very difficult to build a bridge, and it was also not possible to remove all the deep mud to build a railroad embankment. Geologically, this was a peculiar zone rarely seen, and methods for carrying out construction work at such a zone could not be found in books. Ignoring

the danger of sinking into the deep mire at any time, the technicians of the construction team braved the hot sun to observe and survey the mire in day time, and they discussed and studied things together with the cadres and fighters in the evening. They made more than 240 trips to the mire, got hold of an abundance of data, and finally put forward a method of taming the mire to carry out construction work, thus playing a role in railroad construction.

At present, a new high tide of the great socialist revolution and socialist construction is rising. We certainly must hold higher the great red banner of Mao Tsetung thought, closely unite around the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao and with Vice Chairman Lin as the deputy leader, conscientiously study the communique of the Second Plenum of the 9th Party Central Committee, carry out to the letter the resolution of the Kut'ien Conference and the resolution of the enlarged meeting of the Military Commission in 1960, continue to launch in depth the mass movement for the living study and application of Mao Tsetung thought, steadfastly give prominence to proletarian politics, and intensify the revolutionization and militant construction of the armed forces. We must "be modest and prudent and guard against arrogance and rashness," continue with the revolution, advance incessantly, and in the course of fulfilling the various fighting tasks advanced by the "9th Congress" of the Party, make new contribution toward the cause of railroad construction in China.

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Apply Chairman Mao's Philosophical Thinking to the Development of Science and Technology

by

Li Ssu-kuang (李四光)

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 11, October 14, 1970)

Resume: This article emphatically makes the point that in the sphere of science and technology, it is necessary to put proletarian politics in command, persist in taking the mass line, and for scientific workers to study materialism and dialectics, further criticize idealism and the metaphysical viewpoint, and strive to analyze and solve--on the basis of the proletarian world outlook--new problems arising from various branches of science.

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Since the Chinese People's Republic was founded, 21 years have elapsed. These 21 years are the years in which the broad revolutionary masses in our country, under the wise leadership of our great leader Chairman Mao and the Chinese Communist Party, fought and achieved distinguished results on various fronts. These are the most glorious years in the history of our country. After the great proletarian cultural revolution, Mao Tsetung thought has been popularized on a scale never seen before, people's mentality has changed completely and their revolutionary fighting spirit has soared with each passing day. The rapid development of industrial and agricultural production, science and technology and the successful launching of the first man-made earth satellite mark a new level in our country's science and technology. The mother country has become still more beautiful and the proletarian dictatorship has never been so consolidated.

All this represents a big victory for Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and a big victory for Mao Tsetung thought. When one drinks water, one must think of its source. If one does not forget the bitterness of the past, one will have a greater appreciation of today's happy life. Let us, with deep proletarian feelings, hail warmly: Long live the great Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought! Long live our great leader Chairman Mao!

For many years, in the field of science and technology, the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines has always been acute. This finds particular expression in the following questions: Do we consistently put proletarian politics or technology in command? Do we trust the masses, rely on the masses and carry out mass movements on a large scale, or do we divorce ourselves from the masses and realities and take the line of experts? Do we promote the revolutionary spirit of "self-reliance" and "hard work and plain living" and take our own path, or do we have blind faith in foreign people and follow the slavish philosophy of foreigners and the doctrine of crawling at a snail's pace?

Countless facts show that when we work according to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, arm the masses with Mao Tsetung thought and develop the creative spirit of the masses, we shall have inexhaustible strength, overcome any kind of difficulties and scale any peak of science and technology. If we fail to do this or do it but not well enough, we shall achieve poor results or even go astray.

In order to restore capitalism and make scientific research "mystical" and a thing of the "privileged" few, the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i and his agents in scientific and technical circles set up "science citadels" where they imprisoned the broad masses of scientific researchers, so they divorced themselves from proletarian politics, from the worker and peasant masses and from the practice of production. They buried their heads in documents and in their own work,chased after fame and gain and travelled ever farther on the decadent road of feudalism, capitalism and revisionism. Such a college-type road of "3-divorce" gravely impeded the development of science.

College-type research, if traced to its origin, was started in certain theological institutes in Western Europe. Such research was mystic in itself; it was controlled and used by a few people. In the early phase of capitalist development, because it suited the needs of the bourgeoisie, such college-type scientific research work was developed. By the time capitalism reached its monopolistic stage, the monopoly capitalist groups through various means established control over the scientific research forces which they required in colleges and schools and used large amounts of funds to set up all kinds of specialized scientific research institutes to serve monopoly capitalism. Scientivic research facilities of social imperialism are no different from those of capitalist countries. They disregard the interests of the broad masses of the people and serve the reactionary ruling classes. As superstructure of capitalism, they are entirely unsuited to the economic foundation of socialism.

But, on the basis of socialist economy, how should we go about scientific research work? The mass line is the basic line for our Party in doing all kinds of work. Can it be that we should not take the mass line in scientific work? Of course not. Knowledge comes from people's social practice. Scientific experiment, being a component of the three great revolutionary movements, definitely cannot be separated from the masses. Scientific creations and inventions are produced on the basis of practical experience of the broad masses and cannot also be separated from the masses too.

Whom should scientific work serve? Of course, it should serve the broad revolutionary masses and the workers, peasants and soldiers. Scientific achievements should surely belong to the broad revolutionary masses and not to a few people. Who should handle scientific work? Of course, it should be handled mainly by the broad revolutionary masses, the workers, peasants and soldiers, and not by a few specialists and authorities. What we need is not the fame and gain of a few people but the interests of the broad masses of revolutionary people. We do not want to cultivate a few

geniuses to adorn our facade; what we want is to concentrate the practical experience and wisdom of the broad masses of the people to speed up the revolution. "The 600 million people in China are Shun and Yao [sage]." This can certainly be achieved and is being gradually achieved in our great socialist mother country. And it is precisely this which manifests most clearly the superiority of our socialist system.

For this reason, so far as scientific research is concerned, we must reverse the methods used by Liu Shao-ch'i and company. We broad masses of scientific researchers should discard the road of "thesis--research--thesis," the road that leads to the separation from the masses, and discard the capitalist world outlook of working for personal fame and gain. We should take the road of integrating with workers, peasants and soldiers and establish the proletarian world outlook of doing work according to the principle of "practice--knowledge--practice"--dialectical materialism.

In order to solve the question of serving the workers, peasants and soldiers and taking the mass line, scientific workers must also have correct ways of thinking. That is to say, should scientific research work be guided by idealism and metaphysics or by dialectical materialism? A choice must be made between the two. A mass of facts gained from scientific practice prove that while those who make the first choice go to the blind alley and have no way out, people who make the latter choice follow a bright path. In the field of natural science, there always exists the struggle between dialectical materialism on the one hand and idealism and metaphysics on the other. Whatever the subjective wishes of the scientific workers, once they start scientific research work, they will surely be swayed, whether they know it or not, by this or that kind of philosophical thinking. They are guided either by materialist and dialectical thinking or by idealistic and metaphysical thinking. If they depart from the road of dialectical materialism, they will surely embark on the road of idealism or mechanical materialism. In this way, no science could be developed and there would be no science.

The "communique" of the 2nd plenary session of the 9th Party Central Committee points out: "The whole Party must conscientiously study Chairman Mao's philosophical works, promote dialectical materialism and historical materialism and oppose idealism and metaphysics." We scientific workers must use Mao Tsetung thought as a mighty weapon to carry out popular and sustained revolutionary mass criticism against the reactionary viewpoints in the theory of natural science from the height of philosophy, and eliminate the idealistic and metaphysical thinking in scientific research.

Dialectical-materialist philosophical thinking does not drop from the sky nor is it inborn. Scientific workers must assiduously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought, particularly our great teacher Chairman Mao's philosophical works, combining with their own practical experience before they can gradually bring themselves to apply such thinking well. If they are not good at applying it, they would have studied to no purpose. Chairman Mao teaches us: "We must be able to master and apply the Marxist theory, for the purpose of mastering it is to apply it." ("Rectifying the Party's Style

of Work") The metaphysical world outlook has for a long time had an extensive market in the area of natural science. One of the reasons for this is that scientific workers were unable to consciously apply materialist dialectics to analyze and criticize the erroneous theories in natural science, were unable to understand the polemics among various schools of studies from the height of philosophy and were unable to advance philosophical proof for the new and correct viewpoints. Lenin said: "Any natural science, and any materialism, if devoid of adequate and reliable philosophical basis, cannot persist in struggle against the attack of bourgeois ideas and restoration of the bourgeois world outlook." (Collected Works of Lenin, Chinese edition, Vol. 33, p. 204) We scientific workers must strive to make living study and application of Chairman Mao's philosophical thinking, fight against idealism and metaphysics in natural science, and solve the problems arising from the development of various branches of science. This point has become still clearer and more important today.

Take an example. In the sphere of geology, the metaphysical viewpoint is deep-seated. It mechanically separates the geological phenomena which are inherently inter-related, and studies them in isolation from one another. It regards the geological phenomena which are in motion, especially the structural phenomena, as static and frozen things. It rests content with the description of various geological phenomena without revealing the essence of these phenomena. When it discovers the laws of their mutual relations, it does not analyze the inherent contradictions in the things themselves. It substitutes the cyclical theory for the developmental theory of dialectics. And so on and so forth. These mistaken viewpoints have still not been criticized as they should down to this day, and seriously impeded the development of geology, hampering the solution of some major problems and preventing geology from better serving socialist revolution and socialist construction.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "The analytical method is the dialectical method. Analysis means analysis of contradictions of things." ("Speech at the National Propaganda Work Conference of the Chinese Communist Party") However, traditional geology still regards phenomena purely as phenomena down to this day. Its theory is not built on the basis of the guiding idea--the law of the unity of opposites; therefore it is fragmented. One part is taken care of but another part is neglected, and there is no inner connection. For example, the different phenomena caused by the same movement of contradictions are often separated from one another and regarded as a variety of movements which are totally unrelated to one another. For instance, traditional geology arbitrarily divides the same movement of the earth crust into the movement of elevation and fall, the movement of twists, and the movement of cleavage. This is one of the expressions of metaphysics. It does not use the law of unity of opposites as a guiding idea and does not analyze the contradictions of things. As a result, it sinks into the multiple theory of metaphysics, instead of adhering to the unified theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

Traditional geology, bound by the metaphysical world outlook, has entered the blind alley. On many important problems, it cannot explain its

own views, which are full of loopholes. Those who cling to the traditional viewpoint also feel this point, but they are unable to free themselves from the trammels of metaphysics but try to produce some terms to make up for the loopholes that have already appeared--terms such as superior trunk, elevated trunk, sub-standard trunk, and this table or that table.

In recent years, some people have also put forth the theory of "activation" of the table, treating a piece of land with eternal stability in an area as a "table." This is nothing but a subjective and idealist hypothesis; basically the question of activation does not arise. Others put forth the multiple recurrence of the structural movement and the multiple recurrence of the mineralization. This viewpoint is essentially the cyclical theory of metaphysics. Things develop in a wave-like manner, from the lower to the higher level. The general trend is irresistible. In the natural world, there is no such thing as complete recurrence in its original form.

The distribution of mineral resources is governed by geological conditions. For this reason, correct knowledge of the structure of the crust and the laws governing the movement of the crust is a crucial factor for the search for minerals. However, on this question geological workers are strongly divided in their opinions. Some concepts prevailing in capitalist and revisionist countries are in many cases evolved from the fragmented small world of the North and West Europe. Geological workers in capitalist and revisionist countries often regard the special phenomena in their localities as general criteria with which to measure the structural laws of other areas. This is obviously a metaphysical viewpoint which cannot hold water.

In our country some geological workers, long bound by such concepts incompatible with our practical conditions, have taken some detour and met with some setbacks. In consequence, wastes of manpower and material resources have occurred. The tungsten ore in Kiangsi is famous in the world. However, some geological workers had tried the imported methods of what they called "deep and big cleavages" and "counting great ranges," regarding the upward or downward twists of the crust as isolated phenomena. Using such viewpoints to guide their search for minerals, they could not find any trace of ore. Even in the case of the tungsten ore, they thought that the "stocks have been depleted" and "it is no longer useful to continue the search." So they used "outer-line attack," and in the end they blindly carried out projects everywhere. As a result, the idea of "looking at the ocean and being unable to do anything" and feeling helpless raised its head. See! An area which is extremely rich in mineral resources was downgraded as "useless." However, the revolutionary geological workers of the No. 909 and No. 908 geological teams, applying Chairman Mao's philosophical thinking to guide their search for minerals, mobilized the masses and broke through the bondage of metaphysics. Proceeding from the actual conditions in China, they seriously summed up their own practical experiences. Now, it is precisely in that region that they have discovered a large salt mine, in addition to many mineral beds. Moreover, they have ascertained the laws governing the distribution of mineral deposits. More ores have been discovered as the search is continuing. Mineral beds covering non-ferrous

metals, rare metals, ferrous metals, fuels, and non-metals have been found. Their experiences--particularly those of the No. 909 geological team--amply show that if swayed by the metaphysical viewpoint, scientific research work will be retarded, and that only by applying Chairman Mao's philosophical thinking as the guide can we develop scientific and technical undertakings with greater, faster, better and more economical results.

Our great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: "Without destruction there will be no construction. Destruction means criticism and revolution. Destruction means reasoning things out, and reasoning things out is construction. Construction is implied in the process of destruction." Destruction and construction are a unity of opposites. Without criticizing the old and mistaken things, it will be impossible to build new and correct things. The "16 points" formulated under Chairman Mao's personal direction pointed out long ago: Criticism must be carried out against the reactionary viewpoints in the theory of natural science. Now is the time to carry out further and thorough criticism against those reactionary metaphysical theses. We should build and develop our own theories according to our own practical experiences in the course of the revolutionary mass criticism.

At present, a new upsurge of socialist revolution and socialist construction is rising. Popular scientific experimental activities are being developed with vigor. Guided by our great leader Chairman Mao's great strategic policy of "preparing against war, preparing against natural disasters and doing everything for the people" and "independence, seizing the initiative in our hands, and relying on our own efforts," we must find the raw materials and fuels--needed for the development of industrial and agricultural production, particularly industrial production--from the vast areas of our country measuring 9,600,000 square kilometers. There is a particular need to search for those essential ores from areas with strategic significance in order to meet the needs of socialist construction and construction for national defense. Revolutionary scientific workers must go into the midst of the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, into the practice of the three great revolutionary struggles. There they shall have excellent opportunity to establish contact with the masses and with realities. There, they can not only accept re-education from workers, peasants and soldiers and transform their work outlook, but also sum up the revolutionary practical experiences of the broad masses. Theories too are developed there. It is only there that we can check out the correctness of theories, raise our understanding and deepen our knowledge. Not until we rally closely around the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao and with Vice Chairman Lin as the deputy, continue to deepen the mass movement for living study and application of Mao Tsetung thought, closely coordinate it with the practice of the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment, use Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought to consciously transform our world outlook, seriously study Chairman Mao's philosophical works, promote dialectical materialism and historical materialism, and oppose idealism and metaphysics, can we definitely achieve greater success, develop more rapidly socialist science and culture, and contribute a greater share to mankind.

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Constantly Analyze the Situation of Class Struggle

- report on an investigation in Ch'ingshup'ing commune, Shuangfeng hsien, Hunan province

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 11, Oct. 14, 1970)

With the struggle-criticism-transformation campaign developed in depth, how should we persist in the revolutionary mass criticism? Helped by the Mao Tsetung thought propaganda team stationed in this commune, and obeying Chairman Mao's teaching "Never forget class struggle," the revolutionary committee of Ch'ingshup'ing commune, Shuangfeng hsien, constantly analyzes the current situation of class struggle, grasps the trends and characteristics of class struggle, continuously raises the consciousness of the cadres and the masses in class struggle, promptly criticizes the tendency toward capitalism and various erroneous ideas, and actively launches attacks on the class enemies, thereby continuously pushing forward the mass movement of revolutionary mass criticism.

Obtaining Enlightenment from Class Struggle

Our great leader Chairman Mao teaches us, "Often, correct knowledge can be arrived at only after many repetitions of the process leading from matter to consciousness and then back to matter, that is, leading from practice to knowledge and then back to practice." ("Where Do Correct Ideas Come From?") In applying the method of analysis of the situation of class struggle to push forward the protracted development of revolutionary mass criticism, the revolutionary committee of Ch'ingshup'ing commune has covered a course from ignorance to knowledge and from unconsciousness to consciousness.

The leadership of this commune formerly did not understand deeply Chairman Mao's great doctrine of continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, did not know sufficiently the protractedness, complexity and the setbacks of class struggle and did not constantly analyze the trend and characteristics of class struggle, so that revolutionary mass criticism was conducted by fits and starts. It grasped revolutionary mass criticism when class struggle was violent but slackened its effort when class struggle was relaxed superficially; it grasped revolutionary mass criticism when a campaign was under way but put it aside when the campaign was over; it grasped revolutionary mass criticism when production was relaxed but discarded it when production was busy.

In spring this year, a counter-revolutionary incited the masses to go to other localities and vigorously carried out sabotage activity under the pretext of conducting collective side-occupation. In the face of this living fact of class struggle, some comrades were shocked, saying: "We never imagined that such a conspicuous class enemy had such guts."

Why did they "never imagine this"? With the help by the Mao Tsetung thought propaganda team stationed in this commune, the revolutionary committee of this commune held a serious discussion.

Chairman Mao teaches us: The class enemies "are always studying tactics to deal with us, and 'watching our orientation' in order to beat us." "We members of a revolutionary party must know their tactics and also must study their tactics, so as to defeat them. We must never be scholastic and oversimplify the complicated class struggle." (Introductory note to "Material on the Hu Feng Counter-revolutionary Clique") Some comrades "did not imagine" the sabotage by the class enemies because they had been poisoned by renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i's "theory of dying out of class struggle" and oversimplified the complicated class struggle. Accordingly, they launched a fierce attack on the class enemies in the commune, and whipped up an upsurge of the revolutionary mass criticism, thus defeating the class enemies and educating the broad masses.

The revolutionary committee of this commune has learned this deeply from practice: To assign the task of consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat to the basic level, it is necessary to tightly grasp the key of class struggle and to carry out revolutionary mass criticism perseveringly; to achieve this point, it is necessary to constantly analyze the trend of class struggle and strengthen the concept of class struggle. After that, with the help by the propaganda team, this commune extensively unfolded regular activities of analyzing the situation of class struggle and established a system governing the holding of meeting to analyze the situation of class struggle.

The Aim and Use of Analysis of the Situation of Class Struggle

The purpose of holding a meeting to analyze the situation of class struggle is to let the masses use their viewpoint of class struggle to analyze the living facts of the local class struggle and to conduct education in class struggle regularly and concretely, and to effectively raise the consciousness of the Party members, the cadres and the masses in the class struggle, so as to make them keep their heads clear, think of the class enemies always, keep the class enemies in view, and keep on writing articles to uncover and criticize the class enemies.

In Hsint'ang No. 9 team, production decreased two years in succession. The cadres blamed the masses, while the masses blamed the cadres. After class analysis on many occasions, it was discovered that a counter-revolutionary who had been hiding in the dark for more than 20 years was fanning evil winds, trying to win over and corrupt the cadres, sowing dissension among the cadres, undermining the unity between the cadres and the masses, and disseminating viruses of feudalism, capitalism and reaction under the pretext of story telling to poison the youths. The cadres and the masses of this team relentlessly criticized and struggled against this brute. After that, this team regularly called meetings to analyze the situation of class struggle, and continuously carried out revolutionary mass criticism. The more they analyzed the current situation of class struggle, the more clear-headed they became; the more they made criticism, the better they could distinguish right from wrong; the more vigorously they worked, the better the situation of revolution and production became.

Through the activity of analysis of the situation of class struggle, the cadres and the masses of this commune further increased their abilities to apply Mao Tsetung thought in observing everything and analyzing everything. They were able to see the essence through appearances, to see the restlessness through "quietness." They promptly saw through the class enemy's new conspiracy, grasped the orientation of class struggle, nipped the tendency toward capitalism in its bud, and continuously put forward new problems of the revolutionary mass criticism.

In Hsunmin brigade, some rumors spread during a struggle against counter-revolutionaries. The leadership of the brigade promptly helped the masses overcome their lethargy. After analyzing the class struggle and adopting the method of tracing a melon by the vine, they dragged out a counter-revolutionary who had been hiding there for a long time.

In Hohsin brigade, when the plan of growing was carried out, some people made less effort in growing cotton but made greater effort in growing melons and beans. The Party branch of this brigade made an analysis of this problem. It was discovered that some people thought that growing melons and beans was profitable because it required less work but paid handsomely and that growing cotton was unprofitable because it was costly and required much work. From these phenomena, all saw that behind these "greater effort" and "less effort" was a struggle between the two roads and between the two lines. This "effort" in growing melons and beans was not socialist revolutionary effort but was the capitalist effort. If this "effort" was not shifted, it would undermine the socialist collective economy. The Party branch organized the masses to hold a big discussion and big criticism of the question "Where should we apply our efforts?" This made all understand that they should apply their efforts only to socialism and should never turn away from the main orientation to their personal benefits and they must grow more cotton and good cotton for the cause of revolution. As a result, the area of land planted with cotton in the whole brigade expanded to 48 mow, as compared with 20 mow last year.

After constantly analyzing the situation of class struggle, the cadres and the masses raised their level of policy understanding. They handled the problems discovered in the analysis in accordance with Chairman Mao's various proletarian policies, correctly distinguished and handled the two qualitatively different contradictions, united with the vast majority of the masses and isolated and struck the handful of the most stubborn class enemies to the greatest possible extent.

How To Correctly Analyze the Situation of Class Struggle

During the mass movement of revolutionary mass criticism, how could the situation of class struggle be analyzed correctly and the analysis meeting held properly? This is the experience they have acquired:

First, Mao Tsetung thought must be put in command. The course of analysis is a course of the living study and application of Mao Tsetung thought.

Only when we constantly and repeatedly study Chairman Mao's doctrines about classes, class contradictions and class struggle shall we be able to continuously eliminate the pernicious influence of Liu Shao-ch'i's "theory of dying out of class struggle," to strengthen the concept of class struggle, to see clearly, grasp accurately, analyze wholly and criticize thoroughly the complicated class struggle.

In the course of study, they obey Vice Chairman Lin's policy of "studying Chairman Mao's works with problems in mind, studying and applying them in a living way, combining study with application, studying what is urgently needed, so as to produce fast results, and making strenuous efforts in application." In line with the various kinds of living ideas appearing in different periods of time, they study Chairman Mao's teachings concerned, and have scored remarkable results. When class struggle is neglected, they study Chairman Mao's teaching "Never forget class struggle" and tightly grasp class struggle without changing the orientation. When struggle comes to its upsurge, they study Chairman Mao's teachings about the correct distinction and handling of the two qualitatively different contradictions, unite with the comrades to hit at the enemies. When a victory is won of their struggle, they study Chairman Mao's teaching, "We have won a great victory. But, the defeated class still struggles. These people are around and this class still exists. Therefore, we cannot speak of the final victory, not even in the several decades to come. We must not lose our vigilance," make revolution continuously and fight ceaselessly. In this way, the more they study, the more clearly they see their orientation, and the more vigorously they work and the more forcefully they criticize.

Second, it is necessary to make investigation and study well. Chairman Mao teaches us: "No investigation, no right to speak." Before each analysis meeting, the masses are aroused to investigate the conditions of class struggle. At the meeting, the conditions in various fields are summed up and taken as the basis of analysis. When meeting a problem of which it is difficult to draw a conclusion, they go again to practice to make investigations repeatedly and draw a correct conclusion.

In Ts'eshih brigade, the struggle between the two roads was very acute and the tendency toward capitalism relatively serious. The Party branch of this brigade organized some people specially to make investigations on the spot and gave the masses the information obtained. At a meeting of analysis of the situation of class struggle, they put on the table the innumerable facts, saw clearly that the class enemies were trying again to undermine socialism through the channel of economy after suffering a defeat politically. A bad element who often went away to carry out speculative activities was fanning evil wind in secret. After clarifying their thinking, they united to form one and repeatedly criticized this brute, checking the evil wind of capitalism and consolidating and developing the collective economy.

Third, it is necessary to arouse the masses and to rely on them. Chairman Mao teaches us: "It is imperative to launch mass campaign in doing any work. Things won't go without the mass movement." This is also true with the analysis of the situation of class struggle. In conducting

activities of analysis of the situation of class struggle, Ch'ingshup'ing commune combines the leadership with the masses and regular analysis with intensive analysis. All rack their brains to think about methods. As a result, problems that remained unsolved are solved; problems which they formerly did not understand are now fully grasped. Problems which they formerly did not understand much are now clearly comprehended.

The commune and brigade leaderships of this commune unite with a group of activists to form a leading group. They also grasp the typical problems and analyzing the situation of class struggle, they dare to put themselves into the analysis. This has enabled them to stand in the forefront of class struggle and obtain the leadership of the class struggle.

On one occasion, some water melons were lost in Shuangt'ien No. 6 production team. The masses dared not speak out and the problem could not be solved promptly. At the analysis meeting, the Party branch secretary admitted on his initiative that his son had stolen the water melons. He also examined the shortcoming of the lack of education and management. Because the Party branch secretary took the lead in fighting self and criticizing revisionism, other people also told their parts of the story on their initiative. The problem was solved promptly.

The activities of analysis of the situation of class struggle in this commune have the following several good points:

First, regularity. Basically, these activities are carried out alike whether at the moment when class struggle is violent or at the moment when class struggle is relaxed superficially; whether at the time when production is busy or at the time when production is slack; whether when the central campaign is under way or after the campaign.

Second, initiative. In line with the trend of class struggle, the masses fight against any enemy they meet, criticize any tendency toward capitalism and any erroneous ideas they see, sweep away any evil practice they encounter, and continuously wipe out the pernicious influence of Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line.

Third, mass character. All people join in the struggle and strive to make criticism, no matter whether they are Party members or not, whether they are cadres or ordinary masses, whether they are old or are young children, and whether they are men or women.

Fourth, versatility. From the fields to the houses and the threshing yards, from the mouth to the pen, from meetings to chats, the masses are discussing the situation of class struggle, talking about their thinking and rating their achievements, and everywhere is a battleground of mass criticism and a front of short comments.

The persistent revolutionary mass criticism has greatly consolidated the socialist front in the countryside and push forward this communes' mass movement of learning from Tachai in agriculture to a new stage.

Investigation Group under the Revolutionary Committee of Shaonan Administrative District, Hunan Province.

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Miao-Inhabited Mountain Village Takes on a New Look After Learning from Tachai in Agriculture

by

Ch'en Tso-jung (Miao Nationality), Chairman of Revolutionary Committee of Chenshan Brigade, Kweiyang Municipality, Kweichow

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 11, October 14, 1970)

We warmly celebrate the glorious day marking the 21st anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China amid a new upsurge when the people of the world are united to defeat the US aggressors and all their running dogs and in the excellent situation where a great victory has been won in the nation's great proletarian cultural revolution. Standing in the Miao-inhabited village, we poor and lower-middle peasants of Chenshan brigade feel our hearts turn toward the city of Peking. We wish thousands of times a long, long life to Chairman Mao, great leader of the people of various nationalities!

The great proletarian cultural revolution initiated and led by Chairman Mao himself has destroyed the bourgeois headquarters led by renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i, bringing about an unprecedented consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat in China, a much stronger unity among people of various nationalities, a brisk development in the socialist revolution and an unceasing prosperity in industrial and agricultural production. Illumined by the sunshine of Mao Tsetung thought, our Chenshan brigade has changed its natural features, the people have gone through a still bigger change, and the Miao-inhabited mountain village has taken on a new look.

The Chenshan brigade is a mountain village inhabited by the Miao and the Puyi. Before the liberation, under the reactionary rule of the Kuomintang and the brutal exploitation and oppression by the landlord class, many people never had a home of their own, lived in poverty, had no stoves on which to cook but used a few pieces of stones to support their pots. They toiled as laborers to earn their living, and often suffered tortures. In 1949, the Red Sun rose in the east and Chairman Mao sent the Liberation Army here to liberate the suffering Miao and Puyi people. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, we embarked on the road of agricultural cooperation pointed out by Chairman Mao, and the mountain village underwent a deep change. But, because the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i promoted the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of "san-tzu i-pao" and "four big freedoms," and because of the evil streams and the infertile land in our brigade, agricultural production remained in a backward stage and the fields in the whole brigade had to rely on rainfalls. The average yield per mow was less than 200 catties.

In 1964, Chairman Mao issued the great "In agriculture, learn from Tachai." After studying Chairman Mao's teaching, the brigade Party branch realized that to change the backward outlook thoroughly, it is necessary

to resolutely take Tachai as the example and to take the road of "self-reliance" and "hard struggle." We got together with the commune members to repeatedly study Chairman Mao's teaching, "Poverty gives rise to the desire for change, and the desire leads to action and revolution," as well as the advanced deeds of Tachai brigade. Thus did we destroy the erroneous idea of putting ourselves at the mercy of Heaven and relying on the State relief, and establish the revolutionary will of daring to struggle and to win. The broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants said, "Tachai can change its natural aspects. We also can change our poor natural conditions."

Chairman Mao pointed out, "Water conservancy is the life blood of agriculture." We decided to conduct water uphill and to get rid of the "fields which depended on rains." In the winter of 1964, we started a battle of building water conservancy projects. At that moment, some people jumped out and said, "The mountain is high and the water is low. It is impossible to conduct the water uphill." They frenziedly attempted to shake our determination to change the natural features. The broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants wouldn't listen to them but said firmly: "No difficulty can stop us. We are determined to conduct the water uphill. We just want to change the natural features. We have a red heart loyal to Chairman Mao." We worked with our hands. Braving the wind and snow and the excessive cold, we worked with iron hammers and picks, cutting the slopes, building retaining walls and opening canals. During this battle, the cadres got up early in the morning and came off work late in the night. They set examples in work, feared no difficulties and took the lead in doing labor. Many commune members received cuts in their hands and feet, but they did not utter a word about pains. Instead, they loudly recited "Be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory," persisted in their fight and refused to leave the battlefront. After arduous fighting for a winter and the ensuing spring, we overcame our difficulties due to lack of technical know-how and capital, built a two-step water pumping station, opened more than 150 big and small catchment canals for a total length of over 10 li, thereby conducting water uphill. The grain output in 1965 more than doubled that of 1964. After that, the poor and lower-middle peasants had lighting in their homes and a broadcasting loudspeaker was put up in each house. They sang happily, "We are separated by mountains and streams, not by sound. Our hearts are linked with Chairman Mao's. On the road of Tachai we have embarked, and our Chenshan brigade takes on an increasingly new look."

The earth-shaking great proletarian cultural revolution has extensively disseminated and popularized Mao Tsetung thought. In our Chenshan brigade, the portrait of Chairman Mao is hung in every house and the red precious book by Chairman Mao is seen in every family. The poor and lower-middle peasants have deep proletarian feeling for Chairman Mao and they eagerly study Chairman Mao's works. They persist in the "everyday reading," regularly hold Mao Tsetung thought study classes and call forum discussions. They apply what they have studied little by little and consciously remold their world outlook. With Mao Tsetung thought as the weapon, they fight against Nature and against the class enemy.

The handful of class enemies in the mountain village once used the bourgeois factionalism to undermine the unity among nationalities, to sabotage the socialist collective economy and to oppose the policy of learning from Tachai in agriculture. They frenziedly fanned the evil wind of doing commerce to the neglect of agriculture and carrying out speculative activities. Obeying great leader Chairman Mao's teaching "Never forget class struggle," we tightly grasped the struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines. The revolutionary committee of the brigade organized the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants to hold activities of recalling past bitterness and thinking about the present happiness. The old poor peasants who suffered bitterly in the past told of their personal experience, condemning the old society and eulogizing the new society. Meanwhile, in every family and in the fields, everywhere was a battleground for revolutionary mass criticism. The poor and lower-middle peasants relentlessly criticized Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line and fought against the handful of class enemies in the mountain village, thereby making the cadres and the commune members further raise their consciousness in class struggle and the struggle between the two lines and in continuing revolution.

In the past four years and more since the initiation of the great proletarian cultural revolution, we have perseveringly embarked on the road of learning from Tachai in agriculture, cultivating the mountains and harnessing the streams continuously, changing the dry land into paddy fields. We also have built a new water pumping station, developed the collective undertaking of pig raising and unfolded multiple undertakings. The collective economy is flourishing with each passing day and grain production has increased for several years running.

In 1969, our brigade was attacked by a drought of a rare precedence. The water level in the reservoir was too low for pumping the water. Rice seedlings could not be transplanted, and the seeds which had been sown did not sprout after one month and longer. In the face of the threat of this serious drought, the brigade revolutionary committee organized the commune members to repeatedly study Chairman Mao's great teaching "Be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters and do everything for the people" and the brilliant "three constantly read articles," rallying their courage and confidence in struggling against the drought. The commune members said: "We must persist in self-reliance. The people of Tachai could overcome Nature. We must not fear drought. A method is found by man and a path is also blazed by man. People who are armed with Mao Tsetung thought can overcome any difficulty." They opened a battlefield and plunged into the fight.

To make the water deep enough to be pumped, they dug a hollow in the bottom of the reservoir where the mud was knee-deep, so as to heighten the level of water. The pumping station of the first step which was on a floating platform was able to pump the water up, but because the floating platform sank, increasing the distance between it and the pumping station of the second step, water could not be pumped up to the pumping station of the second step, so that the water still could not be conducted uphill.

After repeated experiments, the commune members found a method of pouring water into the outlet pipe to expel the air in the pipe, so as to increase the lifting force of the first step, thereby pumping the water up the second step. More than 100 women of this brigade went on their initiative to do the task of carrying water to pour it into the pipe. They carried water bucket by bucket from the bottom of the reservoir up the hill, covering a distance of 300 meters on the slope. This was sweating labor.

Displaying the revolutionary spirit of "fearing neither hardship nor death," the cadres and the commune members fought arduously for more than half of a month and eventually succeeded in pumping water to irrigate all the more than 270 mow of paddy fields and transplanting seedlings in them. Additional seedlings were transplanted in the more than 300 mow of fields for growing rice and simultaneous grain, and they totally survived. With the immense power of Mao Tsetung thought, we secured a high yield in a year of serious drought. The grain yield that year exceeded that of 1968 by 32 percent. The task of State requisition and procurement was overfulfilled, and the production teams kept more reserve grain than any previous year.

Practice in the past few years makes us understand more deeply that Mao Tsetung thought is a beacon light illuminating the road of progress of the people of various nationalities and is the basic guarantee for all victories. The 2nd plenary session of the 9th Central Committee of the Party calls upon us to hold still higher the great red banner of Mao Tsetung thought, to firmly carry out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and policies and to continuously accomplish the various fighting tasks put forward by the Party's "9th Congress." We the cadres and the poor and lower-middle peasants of Chenshan brigade firmly respond to this great call. We are determined to take Tachai as the example, to "grasp revolution and promote production" in a better way, to "unite to win a still greater victory," and to report the good news of our remarkable achievements to Chairman Mao, great leader of the people of various nationalities!

* * *

Integrating Ourselves with the Masses of Workers and Peasants Forever

by

Chu Szu-tuan, a rusticated educated young woman in Fumin brigade, Yuanchiang hsien, Hunan

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 11, Oct. 14, 1970)

On the red-letter day marking the 21st anniversary of the founding of the great People's Republic of China, we rusticated educated youths fighting in the vast countryside are basking in the sunshine of the Red Sun and are filled with deep excitement. We hail a thousand times: Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to Chairman Mao!

In the past 21 years, we have won great victories in the socialist revolution and socialist construction under great leader Chairman Mao's wise leadership. Particularly after the great proletarian cultural revolution, a very deep change has taken place in the outlook of the motherland. With the struggle-criticism-transformation campaign developing continuously and in depth, a new upsurge is taking place in the socialist revolution and socialist construction. The 700 millions of Chinese people, with the morning Sun in their minds, are advancing bravely and the socialist motherland is prospering with each passing day.

Answering Chairman Mao's call, the broad masses of educated youths who have been tempered in the great proletarian cultural revolution are rushing heroically to the countryside and border regions of the motherland one group after another and have embarked on the revolutionary road of integration with the masses of workers and peasants. A new generation of laborers with both socialist consciousness and culture is strengthening and growing up.

Intellectuals must integrate themselves with the masses of workers and peasants--this is Chairman Mao's consistent brilliant idea. Chairman Mao pointed out incisively during the period of the democratic revolution: "The last line of demarcation between a revolutionary intellectual and a non-revolutionary or counter-revolutionary intellectual is whether they are willing to integrate themselves with the masses of workers and peasants and to do so in practice." During the socialist revolution, Chairman Mao again issued the great call "All people who have had some education ought to be very happy to work in the countryside if they get the chance." During the great proletarian cultural revolution, Chairman Mao further pointed out: "It is very necessary for the educated youths to go to the countryside to be re-educated by the poor and lower-middle peasants." These great teaching of Chairman Mao have pointed out to the broad masses of revolutionary youths the orientation in which they should advance.

Upon graduation from a junior middle school in 1965, I went from I-yang municipality to settle down in Fumin brigade, Fuhsing commune, Yuanchiang hsien. Practice in the past years has made me understand deeply:

It is necessary for the educated youths to go to the mountain and rural areas to be re-educated by the poor and lower-middle peasants in order to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and to prevent the restoration of capitalism. Only by taking part in the three great revolutionary movements and receiving long-term training and tests shall we be able to train ourselves to be successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat.

Vice Chairman Lin has pointed out: "He who does not know the meaning of class does not know the meaning of exploitation and revolution." Growing up in the new society, I have never been tempered in class struggle. In the school, I was poisoned by renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line of education, so that I was alienated from proletarian politics, from the masses of workers and peasants and from practice of production, could not see the class enemies, could not hear the class enemies honing their knives and could not smell the gun powder of class struggle. When I came to the countryside, I thought that it was calm and peaceful there and I buried myself in labor.

There was in the brigade a remarried landlady who tried to associate with and corrupt the educated youths by means of giving them small gifts and telling them obscene stories. This did not draw my attention. But the poor and lower-middle peasants had keen eyes and sensitive noses and took a firm stand. They saw at once that the class enemy was launching an attack. They fully uncovered and criticized the crimes of this landlady. The poor and lower-middle peasants used this living fact to give us educated youths class education. They got together with us to study Chairman Mao's works and led us to take part in class struggle, making us continuously raise our consciousness of class struggle and the struggle between the two lines. The revisionist line carried out in the old-type school made us unable to tell friends from enemies, whereas the revolutionary crucible in the countryside tempered us, enlightening us, brightening our eyes and making us red ideologically.

During the great proletarian cultural revolution, the handful of class enemies who did not take their defeat lying down vigorously upheld counter-revolutionary economism and incited and induced the rusticated educated youths to go back to the city, in a frenzied attempt to prevent the educated youths from taking the revolutionary road of going to the mountain and rural areas. The poor and lower-middle peasants taught us to see the orientation clearly through the viewpoints of classes and class struggle, so that we took a firm stand. Firmly remembering Chairman Mao's teaching, "Intellectuals must integrate themselves with the masses of workers and peasants," I patiently and elaborately did ideological work on each of the educated youths who had been hoodwinked: Despite the class enemy's threat, I got together with the rusticated educated youths to defend Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, to firmly stay in the countryside to grasp revolution and promote production, triumphantly smashing the class enemy's conspiracy of sabotage.

"The question 'for whom?' is something fundamental; it is a question of principle." ("Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art") In the old-type school, the youths were imbued with the bourgeois world outlook, so that they forgot the future of the State, the destiny of mankind, studied for the purpose of being an official, sought personal fame and struggled for personal interests. We cannot completely break down this decadent bourgeois idea unless we integrate ourselves with the masses of workers and peasants. We rusticated educated youths must take the course of integrating ourselves with the poor and lower-middle peasants as the course of remolding our world outlook, and induce a fundamental change in our class standpoint and ideological feeling.

I remember that in the next year after I came to the countryside, the production team assigned us educated youths the task of conducting scientific experiments on cotton growing. At that moment, I thought it was an excellent chance for us to show our talents if we could grow cotton in this place where cotton was never planted in the past. Accordingly, I worked very energetically and was bent on performing a "miracle." Beyond my expectation, the seeds did not sprout evenly and some of them rotted. Again, I thought that I could not make any achievement and slackened my efforts. The poor and lower-middle peasants discovered my living idea. They explained to me the reason why we should do farming for the revolutionary cause and encouraged me to fight on. This incident touched my innermost being: We were growing cotton in the same way. The poor and lower-middle peasants thought of contributing toward the revolution, but I thought of achieving personal fame. These two different ways of thinking reflected the two different world outlooks.

Educated and helped by the poor and lower-middle peasants, I realized that: To grow cotton well, I must first "prune" my thinking. If I don't remold my world outlook, I can do nothing well. I saw clearly the revolutionary target of doing farming. I plucked up my courage and got together with other youths to work hard and eventually made a success.

Understanding the necessity of receiving re-education from the poor and lower-middle peasants, I became more conscious in receiving re-education. Taking the poor and lower-middle peasants as the example, I imposed stern demands on myself. I examined three things whenever I met with a problem: examining my deeds and finding shortcomings, examining my thinking and finding the problems, and examining my world outlook and finding the causes.

On one occasion, I was scooping night soil from a dung pit. Coming to the last part of the work, I had to get down to the bottom of the pit. I felt the work there was too dirty and I refused to get down. But, the production team leader jumped into the pit unhesitatingly and scooped all the night soil. This made me think: I am a daughter of a worker, but, because I have not integrated myself with the masses of workers and peasants, I lack the ideological feeling for the workers and peasants. Only by remolding my world outlook in a thoroughgoing way shall I be able to link my heart with those of the poor and lower-middle peasants.

After that, I went on my initiative to disclose my thinking before the poor and lower-middle peasants and washed the dirt from my innermost being. I learned the excellent character of the poor and lower-middle peasants bit by bit and acted in the way they did. In this way, I continuously strengthened my feeling with the masses of workers and peasants, did what the poor and lower-middle peasants wanted urgently, and bore their problems in mind. Gradually I linked myself with them ideologically and in feeling.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "In our vast rural areas there is plenty of room for them to develop their talents to the full." ("The Experience of a Township in Planning Cooperation") The cause of socialist revolution and socialist construction in the countryside needs large groups of educated youths to take part in it. It is an extraordinary glory that we can work for this great cause. Our future lies with the needs of the revolutionary cause. What we need to do is to serve the poor and lower-middle peasants. The rusticated educated youths must not only humbly receive re-education from the poor and lower-middle peasants, but also play their role in the three great revolutionary movements while receiving this re-education. Our cultural knowledge is given us by the Party and the people. We should serve the cause of the Party and the people unconditionally. Therefore, in the course of integrating ourselves with the poor and lower-middle peasants, we should honestly serve as a cog in the revolution, play a role wherever we are, and contribute our youth to the revolutionary cause in the countryside.

To further change the outlook of our brigade, we educated youths established a youths' shock team and a scientific experiment group under the leadership of the brigade's revolutionary committee. We got together with the poor and lower-middle peasants to implement the "eight-point charter" for agriculture and carried out scientific farming. We overcame the obstacle of the conservative ideas, changed the former practice of growing no green manure in the ponds and fields, defeated the attacks by waterlogging, cold wave and frost, and grew green manure here for the first time. We also got together with the poor and lower-middle peasants to build water conservancy projects, to improve the soil, to popularize seeds of fine strains, to expand the growing of double-cropping rice, and conducted rational close planting, thereby turning the low-lying, sterile land into fertile fields giving stable and high yields. The average yield of early rice per mow this year doubled that in the past year, and a bumper harvest of the late-crop rice was also in sight. In the past few years, footprints of us educated youths were left in each plot of the fields, and each of the crops was wet with the sweat of us educated youths.

We can show our talents to the full by taking part in the class struggle and in the fight for changing Nature. We also can show our talents to the full by doing commonplace work to serve the people. I rushed to do anything, big or small, which was beneficial to the people. I often spared time to help the bookkeeper clear the accounts, to cure illnesses of the poor and lower-middle peasants. I also worked as part-time political teacher in the evening school, taught the people to sing revolutionary songs, read newspapers to them, held exhibition of the struggle against the enemy, took part in the literary and art performances, etc. The poor and lower-

middle peasants said that we had brought our knowledge into full play. I felt that I could learn the things in the countryside which could not be obtained in the books and in the classroom. I acquired more skills and was tempered. Facts showed that the countryside needed us and we needed the countryside still more; the countryside was not a hopeless place but a place where we could show our talents to the full.

In the past few years, guided by Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and re-educated by the poor and lower-middle peasants, the broad masses of rusticated educated youths grew up very quickly. Take our brigade for example. Of the 178 educated youths who came to the countryside, 48 have joined the Communist Youth League, 49 rated to be activists in the living study and application of Mao Tsetung thought, and 80 rated to be five-good commune members. The poor and lower-middle peasants praised us to be propagandists of Mao Tsetung thought and fighters of the three great revolutionary movements and good members of the people's commune. Nourished by Mao Tsetung thought, I was rated to be an activist in the living study and application of Mao Tsetung thought and gloriously admitted into the great Chinese Communist Party. I also was posted deputy secretary of the brigade's Party branch and elected member of the standing committee of the hsien revolutionary committee. Last year, I attended the 9th National Congress of the Party and saw our great leader Chairman Mao. That was the great glory and the greatest happiness of my life!

Chairman Mao teaches us: "If he is willing to integrate himself with the broad masses of workers and peasants and actually does so, he is a revolutionary; otherwise he is a non-revolutionary or a counter-revolutionary. If today he integrates himself with the masses of workers and peasants, then today he is a revolutionary; if tomorrow he ceases to do so or turns round to oppress the common people, then he becomes a non-revolutionary or a counter-revolutionary." ("The Orientation of the Youth Movement") When one gains greater honor and takes a high position and even if everything with him has changed, he must never change his road of integrating himself with the poor and lower-middle peasants. Integrating with the masses of workers and peasants is a life-long matter of us educated youths, not a matter of "one moment." To make revolution, we must integrate with the workers and peasants; to continue revolution, we must continue to integrate with the workers and peasants; to make revolution forever, we must integrate with the workers and peasants forever.

The Communique of the Second Plenary Session of the 9th Central Committee of the Party has pointed out: "We must conduct continuously and in depth the mass movement of the living study and application of Mao Tsetung thought, and use Marxism, Leninism and Mao Tsetung thought to consciously remold our world outlook in close connection with the practice of the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, struggle for production and scientific experiment." We must make still greater efforts to study and apply Mao Tsetung thought in a living way, take root in the countryside for the rest of our lives, go through remolding and make revolution for the rest of our lives, never separate ourselves from labor and from the masses, and contribute our whole share toward building the socialist new countryside.

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Strengthen the Revolutionization and Militant Character of Company Units in the Stormy Class Struggle

by

The Party branch of the "Red Trail-Blazing Company" of a certain unit of the Chinese People's Liberation Army

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 11, October 14, 1970)

On the festive occasion when the 21st anniversary of the founding of the great People's Republic of China is celebrated all over the country, as we look back over the splendid successes we have made in the socialist revolution and socialist construction of China and the great victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution, we are filled with revolutionary heroism and we cordially wish a long, long life to the great leader Chairman Mao.

In the protracted revolutionary struggle, our company closely followed the great supreme leader Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arms Vice Chairman Lin to fight north and south, bravely destroyed the enemy and grew to maturity in battle. During the Resist-US Aid-Korea War, our company joined the Chinese People's Volunteers, and together with the Korean armymen and people, we shattered the US aggressors to pieces. Lo Sheng-chiao, the great internationalist fighter and first class model in loving the people who was boundlessly loyal to Chairman Mao, braved the severe cold of 20 degrees below zero to save a Korean youth called Ts'ui Ying from an ice hole, thus writing a hymn of proletarian internationalism with his life. In the struggle for the continuation of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, our company held high the great red banner of Mao Tsetung thought, and steadfastly advanced in the direction charted by the resolution of the Kut'ien Conference and the resolution of the enlarged meeting of the Military Commission in 1960. Our company was appraised a "four-good company" for nine years in succession, and the collective was once awarded second-class merit. The Ministry of National Defense awarded us the glorious title of the "Red Trail-Blazing Company." We sent representatives to attend the National Day celebrations a number of times and were blessed with seeing the great supreme commander Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arms Vice Chairman Lin.

The great proletarian cultural revolution launched and led by the great leader Chairman Mao himself was a great political revolution of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all exploiting classes. Warmly responding to the great supreme commander Chairman Mao's great call that "the People's Liberation Army should support the Left and the broad masses," we went at different times deep into factories, the countryside, organs, schools and many other units to support the Left. Together with the broad revolutionary masses, we fought against the bourgeois headquarters headed by renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i and tempered ourselves in the raging fire of revolutionary struggle. We greatly intensified our

proletarian feeling of loyalty to the great leader Chairman Mao, raised our consciousness in the class struggle, the struggle between the two lines, and the continuation of the revolution, further improved our close link with the broad masses of the people, raised the mass movement for the living study and application of Mao Tsetung thought and the "four-good company movement" to a new plane, and fundamentally increased the fighting power of the company unit.

The great leader Chairman Mao taught us: "In order to have a real grasp of Marxism, one must learn it not only from books, but mainly through class struggle, through practical work and close contact with the masses of workers and peasants. ("Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work") The violent class struggle, the struggle between the two lines in the great proletrian cultural revolution was the best classroom for us to study and apply creatively Chairman Mao's great doctrine of continuing with the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In 1967, we went to the T'ienhua brigade to support agriculture. In the past, renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i had gone to this brigade to spread poison by "staying at a selected spot." He outrageously attacked the three red banners, tried his utmost to peddle such contrabands as "san-tzu i-pao" and "four great freedoms" and whipped up the evil wind of restoring capitalism. He also banked on his usurped power to topple the cadres who firmly adhered to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, to groom and back up the Right opportunists and to usurp proletarian political power there.

The vivid history of the struggle between the two lines at the T'ienhua brigade aroused the anger of the cadres and fighters against Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line. Cherishing the loyalty of defending till death Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, they waged struggle against Liu Shao-ch'i and his counter-revolutionary revisionist line together with the poor and lower-middle peasants of the place. The cadres and fighters climbed over mountains to pay visits to all villages and households of the T'ienhua brigade, ran 14 study courses in Mao Tsetung thought, and used Mao Tsetung thought to make propaganda among and to organize and arm the masses. They held more than 30 criticism and repudiation meetings to launch violent attack against a handful of class enemies. After a violent struggle, the poor and lower-middle peasants once again assumed power, and there emerged a new atmosphere in the revolution and production. The poor and lower-middle peasants declared with boundless gratitude: "By launching and leading this great proletarian cultural revolution himself, Chairman Mao has liberated the T'ienhua brigade the second time."

This heart-stirring class struggle at the T'ienhua brigade was a most vivid and practical lesson of class education among the class struggles we participated in the factories, schools and organs. It enabled the cadres and fighters to understand further that "in the historical period of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration." All people linked the destiny of the

individual and the class with political power, the consolidation of political power with the great proletarian cultural revolution, and the victory of the great cultural revolution with Chairman Mao's wise leadership, thus greatly deepening their profound class feeling for Chairman Mao and raising as never before their consciousness in closely following and carrying out Chairman Mao's instructions. The cadres and fighters carried "Quotations from Chairman Mao" in their pockets and conscientiously studied and applied them. As soon as the latest instructions were published, they studied them without omission, publicized them on the same day, and carried them out to the letter without the slightest distortion.

There was in our company a squad leader who was suffering from inflammation of the gall-bladder. He had undergone two operations and was very weak. In order to publicize Chairman Mao's instructions, he bore with the pain and persevered in going out early and coming back late every day. The comrades advised him to go home to rest, but he said: "The publicity of Chairman Mao's latest instructions is a battle for the continuation of the revolution. We can only go forward but cannot retreat."

The cadres and fighters devoted the whole of their profound proletarian feeling of ardent love for Chairman Mao to the living study and application of Mao Tsetung thought and the painstaking transformation of world outlook. From the practice of struggle in the great proletarian cultural revolution, they came to see more and more clearly that the struggle between the two lines was in the final analysis a question of transforming the world with the world outlook of which class, and consequently, the establishment of the proletarian world outlook was a great question bearing on the consolidation of the proletarian dictatorship and the prevention of capitalist restoration. They linked the struggle between the two kinds of world outlook in their minds with the struggle between restoration and counter-restoration in society, consciously stood on the plane of consolidating the proletarian dictatorship, smashed self-interest and established public interest, and transformed their world outlook.

There was in our company a fighter who joined the colors in 1968. He exerted himself in the living study and application of the "three constantly read articles," consciously waged repeated struggles against the non-proletarian ideas in his minds, and quickly grew to maturity in the stormy class struggle. When he first joined the colors, he studied the "three constantly read articles" for the first time, fiercely combated the selfish desire of wanting to learn only technique, and established the idea of a fighter for consolidating the proletarian dictatorship. At the time of supporting agriculture, confronted by the acute and complicated class struggle, he studied the "three constantly read articles" the second time. He fiercely combated the word "fear," established the word "dare," and together with the poor and lower-middle peasants, he energetically grasped the class struggle and transformed the look of a unity with "long-standing, big and difficult problems." When the company transferred him from the forefront of supporting agriculture to breed pigs, he studied the "three constantly read articles" the third time, fiercely combated the erroneous idea of "commonplace work with no future," linked pig breeding with the consolidation of the proletarian

dictatorship, and established the idea of doing whatever work assigned by the Party. Under the new situation of intensifying preparedness against war, he studied the "three constantly-read articles" the fourth time, gained a clear understanding of the relationship between the gun and power, fiercely combated the idea that he had served his term and the revolution had come to an end, and made up his mind to prepare himself unrelentingly all the time for the consolidation of the proletarian dictatorship the rest of his life. After he joined the Party and became a cadre, he studied the "three constantly-read articles" the fifth times, fiercely combated "complacency," and made up his mind to realize the great goal of communism and to follow closely Chairman Mao to carry the revolution through to the end. Because he paid attention at all times to transforming his own world outlook, he made conspicuous achievements in supporting the Left and in preparedness against war. As he looked back over the course of his growing to maturity, he said with deep understanding: "A revolutionary fighter relies on the 'three constantly-read articles' to arm himself and grows to maturity in the struggle against non-proletarian ideas. The more fierce the struggle is, the closer he follows Chairman Mao. The more profound the struggle is, the more the can carry the revolution through to the end."

The great leader Chairman Mao taught us: "The army must become one with the people so that they see it as their own army. Such an army will be invincible." ("On Protracted War") In the war years of the past, our company was closely linked with the masses of the people like bone and flesh in our common battle. During the great proletarian cultural revolution, we further fostered the glorious tradition that "the army is not only a fighting force but principally a work force," used Mao Tsetung thought to support the Left, fought together with the broad masses for the consolidating of the proletarian regime, had the cordial support of the masses and forged with the masses a link closer than any time in the past.

In 1968, we went to a certain place to support agriculture. There the Mayushan Production Team was well known as a unit with "long-standing, big and difficult problems" in the whole area. The class enemy corrupted the leader of the production team with sugar-coated bullets, usurped the leadership, and kept revolution and production for a long time in a backward state. The fact of the class struggle of Mayushan enabled us to understand further that the leadership is the root of life of the poor and lower-middle peasants. Together with the poor and lower-middle peasants, we relied on the ever-victorious Mao Tsetung thought to expose the class enemy, put the leadership firmly in the hands of the poor and lower-middle peasants, and changed the look of this team with "long-standing, big and difficult problems." The masses declared: "In the past, the solidarity of the army and the people was relied upon to topple the three big mountains and to seize power. Now the solidarity of the army and the people is again relied upon to expose the class enemy and to preserve power. As we think of how blessed it is to have power, we feel that the Liberation Army is very close to us."

Vice Chairman Lin instructed us: "We must keep in touch with the masses of the people at all times, and draw nutriment from the revolutionary

movement to improve ourselves." In the course of supporting industry, agriculture and the Left, exercising military control and giving military training, we most extensively contacted the masses, drew the richest nourishment and were most profoundly educated. We studied and did manual work together with the broad masses of workers and poor and lower-middle peasants, combated self and criticized revisionism together with them and transformed our own world outlook. We also invited the old workers and old poor peasants to re-educate the cadres and fighters.

There was in the company an intellectual young fighter. At the time of supporting agriculture, we consciously left him at a place where the class struggle was most acute for tempering. We let him stay at the home of an old peasant who knew bitterness and hatred in the old society so that he might be re-educated by the poor and lower-middle peasants at the time of working together with the masses. He made every effort to learn from the poor and lower-middle peasants, and his thought and feeling underwent a conspicuous change. He showed concern for the interests of the masses in every place and his relationship with the poor and lower-middle peasants was like that of fish with water. On one occasion, he braved the rigor of winter to jump into a pond to save a child and was praised by the masses. Many new fighters received very good training from re-education by the workers and poor and lower-middle peasants.

By taking part in work of supporting industry, agriculture and the Left, exercising military control and giving military training as instructed by Chairman Mao, we have solved the question of how to do mass work and to foster the glorious tradition of "oneness of the Army and the people" in the struggle for the continuation of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and thoroughly exposed the criminal conspiracy of counter-revolutionary revisionists P'eng Te-huai and Lo Jui-ch'ing who vainly attempted to break our flesh-and-blood tie with the masses of the people. The history of the struggle of our army over several decades shows that so long as we are closely linked with the masses of the people, we have infinite wisdom and strength and are invincible in the world.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "The successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat are born in the mass struggle and are tempered and brought up in the stormy revolution." Having been tempered in the stormy great proletarian cultural revolution, a generation of new communists who "fear neither hardship nor death" has quickly grown to maturity.

On one occasion, three fighters of our company went to a unit with "long-standing, big and difficult problems" to "disturb the hornets' nest." A handful of class enemies were so rabid that they adopted the method of using both persuasion and force to counter-attack our three fighters. They sometimes resorted to menace and sometimes greeting people with a smiling face. Confronted by the acute and complex class struggle, the three fighters studied Chairman Mao's teaching that "a thoroughgoing materialist has nothing to fear" and that "one must not show any sign of timidity in front of a wild beast." They relied on ever-victorious Mao Tsetung thought, paid no attention to the enemy's oppression or flattery, and fought a tenacious battle with the class enemy. A very cunning bad fellow fawned on our

fighters in a thousand and one ways in an attempt to muddle through the test. A fighter investigated and studied things on the one hand, and on the other hand he went to his home a number of times to conduct face-to-face struggle and attack his mind with policy. In the end, he uncovered the counter-revolutionary criminal evidence of this bad fellow and exposed this class enemy that had concealed himself for 19 years.

In recent years, some revolutionary youths who had been tempered in the great proletarian cultural revolution came to the company unit thus bringing vitality and vigor to the unit. After a youth came to the company unit, he chose the most filthy work to do at ordinary times, and in the course of supporting industry, agriculture and the Left, exercising military control and giving military training, he charged at the forefront of the class struggle. During a long march, although more than ten blisters had developed on his feet, yet he not only persisted in continuing with the march but also carried the rifle and knapsack for a sick comrade-in-arms. He said: "In order to be a good Red trail-blazer capable of continuing with the revolution, one must temper oneself in hardships and difficulties to become the hard bone of the prpletariat." By way of repeated tempering, his heart became redder, his bones harder and his revolutionary determination stronger.

The raging fire of the great proletarian cultural revolution tempered us into steel. Vivid deeds of fearing neither hardship nor death appeared everywhere in the company unit. On one occasion, a big river embankment in the vicinity developed a breach and the place was inundated. Our company went to the forefront to fight the flood water. Braving the torrential rain day and night, we fought continuously for three days and nights. The fighters had bruised shoulders and bloodshot eyes, and many comrades were ill, but those injured refused to leave the "firing-line." The fighter level instructed us to sink boats to block the breach. We pushed a boat loaded with more than one hundred tons of earth, loudly recited Chairman Mao's teaching that "this army has an indomitable spirit and is determined to vanquish all enemies and never to yield," braved the danger of being washed away by the torrents at any time, and cut off the onflow. At the time, the rushing water burst through a big hole at the lower part of the embankment, and it appeared there was a danger for the embankment to burst again. A squad leader and a fighter, giving no thought to safety, jumped into the torrential water several meters deep with gunny bags filled with earth, and they dived under to block the hole. When the squad leader drew close to the hole, his two legs were swept by the rushing water into the hole, and the other fighter had to rush forward to save him. Shouting the slogan "Learn from hero Lo Sheng-chiao", they made six successive dives and finally blocked the hole. The facts show that people armed with Mao Tsetung thought and tempered by the great proletarian cultural revolution are the bravest. They have no fear of the stormy winds and waves, and they bow not to Mount Tai that towers above them.

The great proletarian cultural revolution is like the strong east wind that rapidly sweeps us forward along Chairman Mao's army building line, and the level of revolutionization and militant character has been greatly

raised. We certainly must be modest and prudent, guard against arrogance and rashness, closely follow the great leader Chairman Mao, forever advance along the track of the two "resolutions," and use Mao Tsetung thought to turn the company unit into a "sharp knife" that can stand hard tests.

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